The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1921 No. 2896

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 1
EDITORIALS:
The Friendless Nations 4
Academic Freedom in the University of Minnesota 5
Creation and Destruction 6
Ending the Intellectual Blockade 6
Inishmore, Inishmaan, Inisheer 7
PITTSBURGH'S PROSTITUTED PRESS. By Charles Grant Miller..... 8
THE FARMERS AND CONGRESS. By Henry Raymond Mussey..... 12
PRODUCE! PRODUCE! By George Soule 13
SOLVING HOUSING IN ENGLAND. By Malcolm Sparkes..... 15
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter..... 16
CORRESPONDENCE 16
BOOKS:
Roosevelt and His Time. By Stuart P. Sherman..... 18
Reports on Russia. By Jacob Zeitlin 19
Sapphics. By Mark Van Doren..... 20
DRAMA:
Gray and Gold. By Ludwig Lewisohn..... 21
MUSIC:
Radicalism in Music. By Henrietta Straus..... 21
THE NATION'S POETRY PRIZE..... 22
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
The Rumanian General Strike..... 23
French Labor and the Ruhr..... 25
The International Labor Report..... 26

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

LEWIS S. GANNETT FREDA KIRCHWEY
ARTHUR WARNER LUDWIG LEWISOHN

ERNEST H. GRUENING, MANAGING EDITOR
CARL VAN DOREN, LITERARY EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

FRANCE, still reeling from the blows of the war, seems subject to centrifugal forces that tug her in diverse directions. André Lefevre, in his youth a Socialist, more recently middle-of-the-road Minister of War in the Millerand and Leygues cabinets, has resigned in protest because the Cabinet accepted a proposal to reduce the term of compulsory military training to eighteen months, even though the change is not to take effect for two years and is made contingent upon various future and problematical developments. And at the other end of the scale the French Socialists vote overwhelmingly to change their name to Communists, and join the Third International. Jean Longuet, bitterly denounced as leader of the radical minority during the war, and of the peace-with-Russia majority in the armistice period, is now left leader of the conservative Right of his party because he does not want soviets in France now. Compromise used to be the price of political success; on the Continent today the demand is rather for pure extremism of whatever brand; and the countries where extremists clash are doomed to something very like a chronic, if mild, condition of civil war. In the long run the effects of victory and defeat differ but little; the alchemy of war distils the same poison everywhere.

KARL RUDOLF LEGIEN, Gompers of the German trade unions, is dead. For thirty years he guided the General Commission of German Trade Unions, building the organization into perhaps the most powerful trade union body in the world. It had a quarter of a million members when he took the helm; eight millions when he died. Although the "free" unions which he led were a part of the Social Democratic party organization, Legien, like Gompers, with whom he had a warm sympathy and friendship, guided his unions in predominantly economic channels. But when the Kapp coup d'etat overthrew for a day the constitutional Socialist government of Germany last spring, Legien threw the full force of the unions into the political scale, and it was the unanimity of the general strike called by him which turned the tide at once. For a time his influence on the Government was so strong that he was called dictator, but it faded. Like most of the other pre-war Socialist leaders, Legien loyally supported the Kaiser's Government throughout the war; unlike them, he retained his leadership afterward, and his prestige maintained in the German trade unions a unity sadly lacking among the German Socialists, which the unions are now likely to lose.

ANTICLIMAX is inevitable for those who live a time too vividly. Napoleon at St. Helena may have preserved something of his imperial dignity, but Wilhelm woodchopping in Holland, and the battalions of defeated generals writing two-volume histories of self-defense, are pitiable figures. What can D'Annunzio do next? For months he has defied the world, a poet flaunting the Supreme Councils of the world's great Powers, pirating victoriously when the assembled statesmen would have starved him out, casting lyric constitutions at the world when the diplomats sought to dim his prestige by leaving him to oblivion, a kind of Latin Czar and Bolshevik combined. When the country for whose irredentist and imperial unity he sought to act, sent her battleships against him, he hurled poems at them, and the crews deserted. He had men shot for daring to criticize his policies, yet knelt himself in homage to common seamen who deserted in his favor. After laughing at the world these many months until the world ceased laughing at him, his spell is broken. Italy treats with Jugoslavia over his head, and sends her legions, this time obedient, to force him to obey. What can life still hold for the dictator-poet-pirate extraordinary? He can never write a drama so dramatic nor a poem so epic as this last year of his life; there is nothing left but death—or the movies.

"BETWEEN the nether and upper millstones the law-abiding population—that is the great majority of the people of Ireland—are ground to powder. They live a life of panic. They have become a nation of whisperers. No man can trust his neighbor unless he is an intimate friend. At any moment the dreadful hammering at the door may come, and then no power on earth can keep the door closed. . . . No one can go to bed at night without the feeling that armed men may walk into his bedroom in the hours of darkness. . . . Every night thousands of people sleep in fields, under hedges or haystacks, because they dare not sleep at home."

These are not the vaporings of a Sinn Feiner, but are from the report of the correspondent in Ireland of no less conservative a newspaper than the London *Times*. In addition the London *Nation* points out that the Prime Minister of England lives behind a barricade, the House of Commons dares not admit strangers, more than three million dollars'

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worth of property has been destroyed by arson in Liverpool, and the bloodshed goes on in Ireland. "This," says our contemporary, "is the existing measure of the success of a policy which, by the short, sharp shock of general fear, was to restore peace to rebel Ireland. The Terror is there, but the Triumph waits." These are but samples of the way Englishmen are speaking out. But not even the English newspapers printed adequately the terrific indictment by Mr. Asquith of the British Government's policy "of suppressing crime by crime, murder by murder." Mr. Asquith declared that Sir Hamar Greenwood's threat to burn every Irish creamery whose officials were in the Republican army was a worse doctrine than any preached in the worst days of Lord North's attempt to subjugate the American colonies prior to 1776. Yet our American public opinion fails to realize the character of the struggle in Ireland. Our fashionables, our Anglophobes, and our club world still believe that there is nothing worse going on in Ireland than the bushwhacking of a few low-down Irish peasants who ought to be shot down for their own good.

IT is a pleasure to note that the New York *World* has thrown itself into the fight for disarmament with all its influence and with that same zeal for humanitarian movements which characterized it before its adherence to the war policy dimmed and dulled its liberalism. On Sunday, December 26, it gave its front page to appeals for grounding arms, citing Lloyd George on behalf of its contention and printing special interviews by cable from Lord Robert Cecil and many others, some of the expressions being good, some damned by the familiar ifs, whens, and buts. The *World* itself editorially indorses the position taken by Senator Borah, saying that "if the United States, Great Britain, and Japan would reduce their naval expenditures 50 per cent for the next five years the moral influence of that action would be incalculable, and the example would arouse the public opinion of ever other country in favor of similar measures." The fatal defect of its position is that it believes disarmament can only be achieved through the League of Nations by all nations acting together. If the way to resume specie payments was to resume, the way to disarm is to disarm and without regard to anybody else. The spectacle of the United States disarming of its own accord would have far more influence than joint action by any three or any thirteen nations, for it would mean that one great country had decided to return to its historic and Christian policy, under which it was never humbled, humiliated, nor attacked, of being unarmed and unafraid, and of minding its own business.

IT is obvious that Soviet republics will never be popular with the other and at present more prevalent variety. In view of the reported decision on the part of the Armenian Soviet to abolish private ownership of property and to cancel all foreign loans, "especially the American loan," the name "Armenian" will speedily become as opprobrious as "Russian," and our esteemed Department of Justice will have to extend its field of operation in New York City to the Armenian quarter in lower Washington Street. It is to be greatly hoped that this Soviet fever, which seems so contagious and to have on its victims an effect so curiously stimulating, will not spread to the Republic of Georgia, though it does seem headed in that direction. For in that case the wicked Soviet Georgians might be confused with the inhabitants of our own Southern State, where law and order reigns supreme—except, of course, for a little matter of a lynching now and then, and the complete suppression of the black half of the population by the dictatorship of the bourgeois whites.

AT President Wilson's behest Rear Admiral Snowden, who, for some time, has embodied the executive, legislative, and judicial functions in Santo Domingo, announces that the American forces will soon withdraw from the Dominican half of Hispaniola. Good and important news, this, and far more effective in promoting better relations with our Latin-American neighbors than the perennial grist of addresses, messages, resolutions, and other high-sounding expressions of superficial international comity or the superfluous peripateticism of Mr. Colby. A certain skeptical reserve may, however, justly temper one's enthusiasm at what appears to be the first step toward amending our imperialist Caribbean venture. For Admiral Snowden proclaims "that a commission of representative Dominican citizens will be appointed to which it is my purpose to attach a technical adviser. This commission will be entrusted with the formulation of amendments to the Constitution and a general revision of the laws of the Republic." These amendments, etc., "upon approval by the military government in occupation will be submitted to a constitutional convention and the national Congress of the Dominican Republic respectively." Jokers! Nay—a five-foot shelf of Joe Miller's Joke Books! It is Admiral Snowden who appoints the commission of "representative Dominican citizens." It is Admiral Snowden who appoints the technical adviser to this commission and defines his powers. It is Admiral Snowden who must approve the laws and amendments submitted by this commission, including, of course, the method of electing the constitutional convention and the now non-existent national Congress to which the new laws are to be "submitted". The new legislation will be worth watching. Needless to say, no satisfactory and honorable solution can emerge in this way. It is doubtful whether any admiral is qualified by training or temperament to erect a stable civil government, but the dictator and oppressor is surely the last person qualified to bind up the wounds.

NEW YORK has become a Republican city, if party enrolment figures mean anything. Despite the increase in the total registration, the lists show an actual decline in the number of enrolled Democrats, while the Republican figures have leaped up. A year ago, less than 39 per cent of the city's voters enrolled as Republicans; this year, 52 per cent—and only 43 per cent as Democrats. An interesting sidelight is the fact that the Socialists, while adding a few voters to their total enrolment, lost in proportion to the total registration. The large Socialist vote in New York City seems to have come from non-Socialist voters, disgusted with the Albany persecutions. It is also a significant fact that it was the women who deserted the Democrats—the women who were to vote exactly as their husbands, and if they did differ, plump for the good old League of Nations. Less than a third of the enrolled Democrats are women; 40 per cent of the Socialists and Republicans are women; and more than half the Prohibitionists. But after all, what does it matter whether Republicans or Democrats have the greater hold? The party machines still work hand in hand in the city in many matters, and for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

every Diamond Bill Democratic saloon-keeper boss, there is a Diamond Jack Republican three blocks north.

DEBS, after all, polled less than a million votes, and the "protest vote," according to complete reports, was trifling—unless the vote for Harding be called a protest. Harding's vote was even more overwhelming than was realized at the time. In the entire North, Middle West, Southwest, West, and the border States of the South put together, Harding had more than two votes to every one for Cox. Never in all American history, since the days when State legislatures elected presidential electors and one lone New Hampshire elector cast his vote against James Monroe's re-election in order that none but Washington should ever have been elected unanimously, has there been such a one-sided verdict. The total vote of the protest parties is as nothing beside it. Debs's total, 910,000, is proportionally only a slight advance over the Socialist vote of 1916—3.36 per cent as compared with 3.15, and when the Christensen vote is added to Debs's, they form together but 4.25 per cent of the total, whereas Debs alone won 5.96 per cent of all the votes cast in 1912.

SENATOR POINDEXTER could hardly have expected that his bill prohibiting strikes on common carriers, which slipped so casually through the Senate, would become law as simply. Opposition developed as soon as the vote was made known, and the "progressive bloc" gathered its diminished forces together to discuss methods of killing the measure. The vote on the bill occurred at a moment inopportune for its supporters, as the leaders of various railroad labor organizations were meeting at Washington at the time, and were able to get into touch promptly with the Senate liberals. The bill probably will never become law, and it should not. The right to strike is one which no Congress should lightly decide to abrogate. A far better method of preventing strikes is now under discussion by the officers and organized employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Voluntarily adopted, this method will provide for the settlement of disputes by boards of adjustment. The successful working out of such a plan, General W. W. Atterbury, vice-president in charge of operation, declares, would mean "that not only will there never be a strike, but that it will never be necessary to take a strike vote on the Pennsylvania system." If strikes are ever eliminated it will be by efforts such as this to establish between unions and management a link of discussion and reasonable consideration of the needs of the industry, and it will not be by legislation or by force.

GOVERNMENT officials not only did nothing last summer to protect the public from coal profiteers, but they actually participated in plundering the consumer, according to testimony before the Senate Committee on Reconstruction. George H. Cushing, managing director of the American Wholesale Coal Association, told the Committee that a group of government officials (whose names are not yet disclosed) made a net profit of $1.50 a ton on 450,000 tons of coal sold in this country and abroad, while D. B. Wentz, president of the National Coal Operators' Association, said that the Secretary of War had increased the panic in prices by making purchases at unnecessarily extravagant rates. Mr. Wentz himself was authorized to pay $11 a ton, with a personal commission of fifty cents, at a time when coal could be mined at a profit for about $3.50. He bought 150,000 tons for the War Department, clearing $75,000 in commissions. In the same market the Shipping Board paid $16 to $21 a ton for coal, which sounds quite in keeping with the whole orgy of graft. These disclosures of banditry and waste lead even a staunch organ of the business interests like the New York *Herald* to remark:

> If the coal industry itself, as we have said before, cannot and does not summarily put an end for all time to those practices that have bled the public and put shame on the coal business, the American people are going to demand national control of the coal industry like national control of the railroads. And when the American people do demand it, in the way they will demand it after what they have gone through, they are going to get it.

IN Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, there is an aged Italian woman, Mrs. Catario, whom her neighbors call a witch and whom they threaten with burning at the stake. Some inventive tongue or other started the story, and Mrs. Catario says that tongue swings in the busy mouth of one Antonio Capriano, whom she has accused before a magistrate. Capriano is under arrest on the simple but sufficient charge of disorderly conduct. Thus can modern law deal with medieval folly. In Jacksonville, Florida, John Bischoff, for certain silly letters he had written to a newspaper demanding that the newspaper cease calling the Germans Huns on penalty of losing Bischoff's advertising, was tarred and feathered by a gang of unknown miscreants. Modern law has not done, and doubtless will not do, a thing in this case. The parallel is deadly. What is the belief at the base of all witchcraft charges? It is the belief that the accused is in league with the Devil, the natural enemy of men, to harm them—that is, that the accused is a kind of traitor. It is thus that the zealous patriots of Jacksonville presumably regarded John Bischoff as in league with the Kaiser, the natural enemy of Americans, to harm them—that is, the accused is a kind of traitor. Dangerous, dangerous Devil! Dangerous, dangerous Kaiser!

THE publishers of the Everyman Library announce that they cannot, at least for the present, continue to expand the series. New titles can be added only at the expense of charging four or five times as much a volume as was originally charged; even to reprint the old titles, at present costs of paper and binding, means that the series has to sell for three times the pre-war price. In 1913 it was possible to obtain practically all the classics of the world's literature in such series at a price not much above twenty-five cents a volume, and a useful general library could be collected at an average cost of fifty cents a volume. Now the book that costs less than a dollar is relatively rare, and the prices of many new books seem prohibitive. We are forced back to the plight of most readers in the days before the Bohn libraries set a new standard of cheapness, when the circulating library had to serve all but prosperous or professional or impassioned book-buyers. Other commodities have gone up too, but books are more than commodities: they are the tools of education, the wisdom of the race, the greatest of all carriers of pleasure. If ever we have in the United States a Secretary of Education, he should study nothing more carefully than the proposal to issue, at cost, a government edition of the great classics of literature.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Friendless Nations

"THIS period of our history would be a bad time for the United States to get into another war, for we have not a friend among the nations of the earth." Thus spoke the other day an elder American statesman, lately returned from Europe, where his name is as well known as in the United States. He was astounded at the bitterness of the criticism of America which he heard wherever he went. In England, in France, in Italy, so far from any feeling of gratitude for us, there was only dislike or anger to be found. For this he cited various reasons. In England our assertions that we won the war have rankled deep, and the rivalry in trade and in fleets, both naval and merchant, is doing much harm. Ireland is, of course, he added, a most serious menace to the friendship of the two countries. On the Continent he found a feeling that we have profited enormously by the war and have borne few of its pains. In France the vexation is not concealed; there the feeling is that we have not stood by our ally as we should have done. To newspaper readers some of these facts are commonplaces; but this man of international reputation could not get over the fact that our unselfish participation in a war for democracy, as he still believes it to have been, has left us entirely friendless—even in South America where our aggressions in the Caribbean and in the kindred Central-American republics have made every nation regard us with a suspicion, distrust, and dislike that a hundred itinerant Secretaries of State could not remove—least of all a Bainbridge Colby.

But what is true of the United States is true of England, while a section of the French press daily harps upon the new isolation of that shell-shocked and suffering republic. All the world believes that England has got away with far more of the swag of the war than it had any right to. Our own State Department accuses it of monopolizing the oil in its new mandatory territories. France insists that it got but little of the recompense it deserves for its martyrdom, Italy is furious because the Treaty of London has not been lived up to; and so it goes. No one is happy, no one is grateful to any one else. The Central Powers are, of course, still Ishmaelites; Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Jugo-slavia are so distrustful of Hungary that they have entered into a new alliance against her. At the League of Nations meeting in Geneva the outstanding fact was the line-up of the smaller nations against the great Powers which dominate the European world, a cleft which according to some press observers foreshadows the break-up of the League at its next gathering.

As for Russia, while England has now consented to trade with her, a notorious German general, Hoffmann, of unsavory Brest-Litovsk fame, joins with the French chauvinists in preaching a holy war against the Communists. Every item of news of the advance of communism inflames further the passions of those who see in the Bolshevists the enemies of civilization. In the East, Japan certainly belongs to the friendless nations. Returning travelers of importance report that her elder statesmen are well aware of it. America is against her and builds a fleet to menace her. China has dealt her industry a serious blow by its boycott of all things Japanese; Australia is drawing the yellow color line more sharply than ever. Hate, jealousy, bitterness, distrust, and anger are everywhere. No wonder the *Manchester Guardian* declares that the world is much worse off after the holy war to save humanity than it was before.

The situation is the more striking when one recalls the honeyed words with which the Allied delegations flattered our ears when they visited us soon after we entered the war. Then we swore brotherhood to England, to France, to Italy, for all eternity. Our blood was mixed with their blood on the sacred soil of Flanders, and ties had been forged which nothing could ever sunder. Lafayette, we were with you in reverence, kinship, and lasting good-will which no debt, no unpaid interest, and no failure to sign treaties could possibly affect. Well, we still pour out funds for France—not enough, it is true; we put our hands in our pockets for the diseased and dying children of Central Europe and Russia. But nobody loves us even for that, our Quakers excepted, those noble administrators of our mercy. And then there is China. China among all the nations still loves us, not for our alliance in the war to redeem the world, but for certain altruistic acts of ours in years past like the return of the Boxer indemnity and the insistence on the Open Door and fair play for the eldest nation.

Now the solemn truth is that this shocking loneliness and friendlessness of the nations which but yesterday believed themselves unselfish saviors of human society, are but another, if one of the most striking, of the moral damages of war, and particularly of such a war. What has happened should surprise no one who knows history. There have been holy wars before this, against Russia, against Napoleon, against the Moslem. But that did not mean that the brotherhood of joint warring endured. Indeed, the allies were always all too soon at swords' points again. The fact that France enabled us to win our freedom from Great Britain in the Revolution did not prevent us within seventeen years from entering a state of war with her which lasted for months, though without a declaration of hostilities. Let such another question as that of Venezuela arise and the United States would be swept by a wave of passion against England as it was when Grover Cleveland published the belligerent document which brought both nations to the verge of disaster.

No, lasting friendships are not forged on battlefields; of this the proof is again the bitterness of Canadian and Australian troops toward their British comrades. The nature of war itself forbids it; the ghastly crime of taking part in any such mass murder punishes direly those who participate. Was this truth ever clearer than today? Is it not true that materially the victors are almost as near disaster as the vanquished? Was it ever clearer that the moral damages of war far outweigh all possible gains; that there are no spiritual profits to offset the contents of that Pandora's box of hatred, deceit, lying, cruelty to innocents, and murder, which the first shot of every war lets loose? Plain it surely is now that when one would reclose that box one cannot at will recall the spirits of evil from their devilish work; many of them remain at large to plague all humanity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Academic Freedom in the University of Minnesota

THE NATION, some time ago, called attention to a discussion at the University of Minnesota on the question of academic freedom. The question is apparently not yet settled. The issue was precipitated by *Foolscap*, the undergraduates' magazine, which charged, editorially, that members of the faculty were "annually relieved of their academic burdens for having dared to utter what they deemed to be the truth," and, also editorially, declared it to be "undoubtedly desirable . . . that academic freedom should be more than a mere academic fiction." So serious a charge naturally provoked more than purely collegiate comment, and the newspapers of the Twin Cities gave the matter sensational publicity. In this hour of professional peril, came the Minnesota chapter of the American Association of University Professors to the rescue. Professional honor must be vindicated. The committee appointed for this purpose summoned the editor of *Foolscap*, quizzed him in vain, and finding itself impotent to pursue the investigation further, decided to lay the matter before the entire faculty.

At the request of this committee, accordingly, a general faculty meeting was called. Such meetings, in large universities, are rare, and interest ran high. Representatives of the press were invited. The committee laid before more than two hundred faculty members its carefully prepared report with the conclusion that the charges in *Foolscap*, being supported by no proof, were to be condemned as "utterly false and misleading." Dissatisfaction with this report immediately manifested itself. A new committee of five, representative of the entire faculty, was appointed on the spot to investigate the question still further; and a secret ballot, taken, after vigorous opposition, resulted in thirty-three votes, more than fifteen per cent of the total vote cast, in support of the undergraduate accusations.

This took place in February last. Early in June the faculty again assembled to hear the report of the new committee. Wiser than its predecessor, it decided that its investigation was "wider in scope and more important than a mere determination of the specific degree of accuracy and justification attaching to an editorial expression of opinion." Having thus broadened its inquiry the committee frankly faced difficulties inherent in the problem, which, "psychological in its nature, was often a matter of tacit understanding, recorded in some instances much more clearly by the feeling of what might, and certainly would, impend rather than by what had already happened." The testimony to the existence of this feeling—in the words of the report—has come "from too many sources to be ignored, and from persons of such rank and standing in the faculty as to suggest that the University has here a real and serious problem."

In this problem, says the report, there are four factors: a spirit of intolerance in the community at large, the method of procedure against accused faculty members, espionage by other than academic organizations, and a misconception of university teaching. The first of these, "a post-bellum spirit of intolerance and its concomitant spirit of fear," has found such lodgment not only in the community at large but in the academic community as well, that the faculty itself, in the opinion of the committee, "has by its own share in this repressive and intolerant spirit, contributed to its own intimidation." "Academic freedom," to quote the report further, "like charity, begins at home; and as long as the circulation of unfounded rumor by members of the faculty, and an utter failure by many to understand the intellectual value inherent in the free expression of variant views, can and does jeopardize academic tenure, just so long will it be absurd for university circles to expect from others that toleration they deny themselves." The second of the four factors involves the administrative officials. When, according to the report, complaint is made against the "views or activities" of some one member of the faculty whose years of service entitle him at the least to "a certain favorable presumption"—he frequently finds himself, when summoned to answer "unjustifiably on the defensive." It is, of course, impossible to prevent complaints being lodged; "but it is desirable," says the committee, "that such investigations as are made should succeed in conveying an impression of intelligent adherence to principle, of an eagerness to protect all legitimate . . . expression of opinion. . . ."

In presenting the third of the four factors, the committee claims to have had called to its attention "evidence . . . which plainly indicates the use of espionage by external forces that continually attempt to exert pressure upon the authorities as to university teaching and personnel." The committee is "firmly of the opinion that such pressure is not in the public interest," and that "invasion by private detectives of the domain of academic life and thought is scarcely compatible with the maintenance of a sound and wholesome intellectual spirit."

The last of the four factors against which protest is made is the all too correct belief that "the university, instead of having for its chief function the orientation of the student within the world of thought in order that he may be prepared eventually to form independent judgments, is an institution for the dogmatic indoctrination of opinion." Complaints against teachers usually come from "special groups of citizens imbued with this indoctrination theory." The professor, fighting against this belief in his class-room, soon discovers that it is constantly to be met with in his private, extra-collegiate life as well. "The right of a professor to express his views without restraint on matters lying outside the sphere of his professorship," is one which President Lowell may well champion, but of his enlightened opinion there are but few. Yet this admirable committee insists that "an institution of learning endowed by the State cannot . . . make itself the champion of any narrowly conceived particularity of spirit; it cannot, therefore, make itself responsible for the private activities of its teachers, and consequently cannot afford to lay down for those activities any special rules, either written or established by tradition, other than those which the laws of the land and social decorum require."

This remarkable report was referred back to the committee with demands for specific facts. Objection was made by the committee that "an obvious reluctance to testify" had been overcome by an assurance that all testimony would be held confidential, and that honor permitted no violation of this confidence. The committee threatened resignation. The faculty still demanded facts. These, the committeemen were instructed to report at a meeting whose secrecy would preserve their honor. Whether the committee is unable to investigate further with honor we cannot say, but the regrettable fact is that nothing further has happened.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Destruction and Creation

TRAVELERS relate that in a tribe dwelling by the upper Amazon the wrinkled elders squat disconsolately on copper haunches under the giant trees and, when the moon comes up, raise their voices in mournful ululation. From time immemorial the tribe has practiced endogamic marriage. But, misled by explorers and rubber merchants, the youths now wander where they please in search of brides. The elders mourn. They cannot regard these revolutionary exogamic marriages as anything but crass license. The sacred institutions of their fathers are in the dust. They wail for a substitute or angrily demand constructive suggestions. Still other travelers bring depressing news from the black dwarf-folk of the Abyssinian hills. There, too, the hearts of the elders are sore. Oftener and oftener during recent years the little hill women have caught glimpses of their white sisters and now stubbornly refuse to file their teeth, to pierce their noses, to distend their nether lips. The elders lament that the ancient beauty of life has fled. What shall be substituted for it? Who will offer a constructive criticism?

This gossip of the anthropologists is full of pith. Everywhere and always the elders of the tribes ask two questions. Shall we give up our hard-won civilization and return to a savage and licentious state? Alas, no savage state was ever a licentious one. Among the ancient Hebrews a man was stoned to death for breaking the sabbath; among primitive tribes women were slain for using the men's dialect or defiling a warrior's weapons by their touch. Where we have one taboo our remote ancestors had a thousand. Pursue social history but far enough into the past and you reach a point where personal volition and privacy did not exist, where every action was prescribed by steel-hard custom and the tribal mind functioned alike in every individual. Yet in every age the elders ask their second question: What do you propose to substitute for this dying taboo, this obsolescent custom, this venerable propriety? They cannot envisage society without the customs and institutions amid which their emotions have ripened. Thus good and sincere men have defended the torture chambers of inquisitor and tyrant, human slavery, and capital punishment for petty theft; thus noble and impassioned minds have echoed and reechoed the despairing cry of Edmund Burke: "The French revolutionists complained of everything; they refused to reform anything; and they left nothing, no, nothing, unchanged. Had parliamentary reforms taken place, not France, but England would have had the honor of leading the death-dance of democratic revolution." So every revolution has seemed a death-dance to the elders. At worst they demand violent repression—the rope, the wheel, the axe; at best they ask for substitutes and for constructive criticism.

The instinctive reply of the conservative to such reflections is that in other ages change and revolution affected the accidents of civilization, but that today they strike at essentials. But this cry and its emotional basis are also recurrent. The foundation of today is the accident of tomorrow. The world is not a finished system; its essence is not static being but dynamic becoming. People have learned to live and to live better without the whipping-post, the ghetto, the subjection of woman, the enforcement of religious conformity. Once madmen were beaten as vicious, or killed as possessed of a demon, or worshiped as inspired by a god. What substitute was offered in place of these cruelties and delusions? None. Hence those of us who fight economic injustice, wage and sex slavery, social intolerance, and war, need offer neither substitute nor constructive theories. The things we fight have become clear evils. They are in the nature of crippling diseases. The physician guards against disease or destroys it. He neither compromises with it, nor puts anything in its place. Yet who will doubt the essential creativeness of his negative activity?

The exercise of liberty and justice among men is positive and creative; the attainment of liberty and justice is today, as it has always been, a negative process. In the face of an uncomprehended universe, beset by obscure dangers, the tribes of men, in the name of angry gods, burdened themselves with heavy loads of intricate and rigid custom. But as fear and passion recede and reason comes to rule in the minds of individuals and groups, these customs and the sanctions that support them are seen in their true character. They are not sacred except through emotional habit; they must submit, like all other mortal things, to the plain test of present and future usefulness or beauty. If they have become ugly fetters they must be destroyed. The sculptor, to use an old but apt similitude, does not mourn over the fragments he hews from the block. The stone may tax him with destructiveness. He sets free the statue of his vision. Wherever men have come to exercise creative energy, they have first attained freedom by destroying custom, by rebelling against social institutions or transcending them. The destroyers are the creators themselves or the creators' heralds and prophets. The aim of every human future is not substitutes for the present burdens but fewer ones, not a change from one prison to another, but the liberation of the creative spirit of man.

Ending the Intellectual Blockade

WITH the announcement by the Rockefeller Foundation of its virtual adoption for the present of some of the medical schools of Central Europe, our intellectual *rapprochement* with the former enemy countries may be said to be fairly under way. That there was need for assistance goes almost without saying. The German and Austrian universities, crowded now as they have never been before, lack almost everything that makes university life possible. They are in many cases utterly destitute—first of funds, then as a natural consequence, of books and laboratory apparatus. Hundreds of scientific and literary periodicals have had to suspend publication. There have been no foreign exchanges since 1914. And the professors and students, besides being thus denied intellectual nourishment, are often unable to buy even one regular meal a day, and being in many cases without lodgings, are found sleeping in railway stations or other public places. The result of all this, if aid had not come from the outside world, could have been nothing less than the cessation of the development—even of the existence—of art and science in the Central European countries, an incalculable loss to the world.

The generous action of the Rockefeller Foundation was not by any means the first step of this sort. In April of this year an appeal signed by about twenty well-known men—

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among them Cardinal Gibbons, Frank A. Vanderlip, David Starr Jordan, Felix Adler, and William Howard Taft, men representing almost a score of different groups in American life—was issued to publishers and publishing societies to exchange with libraries, publishers, journals, and publishing societies of all European countries "disregarding for the near future whether the amount of printed matter in exchange corresponds with the amount sent." This was a beginning. Later under the direction of the Emergency Society in Aid of European Science and Art, recently reorganized as the Emergency Society in Aid of German and Austrian Science and Art, under the presidency of Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, the business of assisting in the publication of scientific journals, providing apparatus or books for institutions of learning and for individual students was begun. To date 575,000 marks have been sent to Germany and 175,000 kronen to Austria by this society. Branches of the organization are being started or are already operating in Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, St. Louis, New Haven, Cambridge, and Newark. Money is raised by membership dues of from five to one thousand dollars. The Germanistic Society of America, too, has not been idle. From August 1 to November 10 of this year subscriptions for 224 journals and periodicals, scientific, political, and literary, have been sent to thirty-three German schools and universities. These subscriptions were either given by the publishers or purchased by the Germanistic Society itself. Equally important is the fact that sending American periodicals to the Central Powers is doing a most useful work in placing the American points of view as to the war and our idealism in it before those who still misunderstand our national attitude.

The Menorah Society, in response to a moving cablegram from one of its workers in Paris which described the situation of Jewish students as appalling, and added "shelterless, hungry, ill-clad, and only too often sick, these students will surely not be able to go through another winter of suffering unless help comes to them promptly," has launched a campaign to raise $50,000 to relieve these desperate needs. The World's Student Christian Federation, assembled at St. Beatenberg, Switzerland, in August, determined to inaugurate a scheme of European student relief. Their aim is to supply to students food, clothing, fuel, books, housing, and medical aid, by raising money themselves and in cooperation with existing organizations.

And, finally, now comes the Rockefeller Foundation announcing a "cooperative program" of aid in the rehabilitation of scientific equipment for medical teaching and research and in furnishing medical journals to universities, and the plan to invite a group of four men from Belgrade to visit America for inspection and study with the ultimate purpose of establishing there in the near future a medical school. The representatives of the Foundation investigating conditions in Central Europe reported that there were less than 300 doctors in all Serbia, and that the 25,000,000 inhabitants of Poland have fewer than 2,000 physicians available to care for them—one doctor to every 12,500 persons!

This is then obviously only a beginning, but the fact that the long uphill climb is begun is encouraging. Meantime the winter is pressing on with its fireless, foodless days and its indescribable nights, and there is no time to be lost. National enmities and hatreds have a vitality which is sometimes amazing. But confronted by hungry bodies and hungry minds they must inevitably give way at last to a brotherhood which transcends them.

Inishmore, Inishmaan, Inisheer

IF, as it is reported dimly, the war in Ireland has reached the Aran Islands, then there is no spot left peaceful in that ancient kingdom and new republic. The story says the forces of the English Crown heard that those windy western islets harbored men on the run, and went after them, patrolling the sea with boats and raiding the land. Two civilians are said to have been killed in the mimic battle, three wounded trying to escape, and seven arrested. But only the barest details have got back to Dublin.

Like enough there were men on the run here and there among the island cottages. There have always been. Didn't John Synge when he was on the islands hear of a Connaught man who killed his father with a blow of his spade because he was in a passion, and who fled to Inishmaan, where the natives kept him safe from the police for weeks till they could ship him off to America? The impulse to protect the criminal is universal in the Irish west. Chiefly this is because the people, "who are never criminals yet always capable of crime," feel that a man would not do a wrong unless he were under the influence of an irresponsible passion. But partly, too, it is because "justice" is associated with the English. How much more than in Synge's day is this the case now—when "justice" is trying to level Ireland under its iron feet, and many a fine young man must have had to run to Inishmore or Inishmaan or Inisheer! Even in Synge's day the most intelligent man on Inishmaan declared that the police had brought crime to Aran. The Congested Districts Board has done something to modernize Killeany, but elsewhere the island population changes very slowly.

A quaint story has lately come to light about the islands. They were being used, it says, by the Irish Republic as a place of internment for its prisoners, though there is, of course, no jail there. And it seems that when the forces of the Crown crossed Galway Bay from the mainland and offered these prisoners their freedom they rejected it completely, desiring rather to stay where they were than to go free to any other part of the British Isles whatever. One sees the seed of legends in this story. Pat Dirane, the old story-teller who made Synge's day delightful, is dead now; and "Michael" (really Martin McDonagh) has married and come to America. There will be others, however, to carry on the tradition among a people who still pass from island to island in rude curaghs of a model which has served primitive races since men first went to sea; who still tread the sands and invade the surfs of their islands in pampooties of raw cowskin which are never dry and which are placed in water at night to keep them soft for the next day; who make all the soil they have out of scanty treasures of clay spread out on stones and mixed with sand and seaweed. Old Mourteen on Inishmore told Synge about Diarmid, the strongest man on the earth since Samson, and believed in him. Pat Dirane told tales that were the island versions of "Cymbeline" and "The Merchant of Venice," tales known elsewhere in the words of Boccaccio and of the "Gesta Romanorum." Michael's friend sang "rude and beautiful poetry . . . filled with the oldest passions of the world." How then shall the story die of how men who were put away on Inisheer or Inishmaan or Inishmore found that prison sweeter than freedom and would not go back when the chance was offered them?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pittsburgh's Prostituted Press

By CHARLES GRANT MILLER

IN the year that has passed since the great steel strike of 1919, passions have cooled, controversial mists have cleared away, the truth has emerged from the barrage that was thrown about it, and it has become established as general public knowledge that the contest was a thoroughly orthodox A. F. of L. struggle for better wages and fewer hours on the one side and for the "open shop" on the other, with no unusual features either in the causes or conduct of the strike from beginning to end. At this distance and with this understanding it has become possible to appraise in right perspective, in calm spirit, and with judicial exactness the one outstanding, sinister, and decisive factor in that strike. This factor was the prostituted press of Pittsburgh.

The newspapers of Pittsburgh in particular and of the country in general persistently misrepresented the strike to the public as a bolshevik outbreak of foreign workers, without basis in real grievances, opposed by all American labor, denounced by all the clergy, attended by violent riots, a deadly menace to industry, peace, and established rights, a thing to be stamped out by any measures and at all cost. With failure of the press in the truth, there was a consequent failure of the public in right sense of justice and sympathy; there was also a collateral failure of the State in law and order.

This is an old charge; but I am not dealing in mere charges, nor in mere generalities, but in detailed evidence. The indictment brought in the Interchurch World Movement Report is firmly based and fully sustained in a voluminous supplementary report of its Commission of Inquiry, never published. No evidence of this perfidy to its public trust on the part of the press will be adduced, or needed, other than that presented in the files of the Pittsburgh newspapers themselves. The Pittsburgh papers stand out, naturally, because half the steel industry of the country centers in Pittsburgh and because the developments in and around Pittsburgh were decisive in the outcome of the strike, and for the further reason that the Pittsburgh papers were largely the source of the strike news which the press associations spread broadcast.

No analysis of the attitude of the Pittsburgh papers toward the strike would be comprehensive or comprehensible without early consideration of the advertising campaign against the strike. From September 27 to October 8 over thirty full-page advertisements, denouncing the leadership of the strike and calculated to undermine the morale of the strikers, appeared in the various Pittsburgh newspapers. They were printed in English and generally in four or five foreign languages as well. These advertisements, while apparently designed for the strikers, unquestionably because of their prominence and space greater than that of the strike "news" columns, had an important part in influencing public opinion regarding the causes and conduct of the strike, quite apart from any effect they may have had in influencing the policies of the newspapers themselves.

Coming early, these paid pronouncements had far-reaching force. They outlined and crystallized the misinformation that was consistently accepted in the news columns of the Pittsburgh papers and from them transmitted to the press of the whole country. The point of view taken in the advertisements was exactly the point of view adopted in the news and editorial columns of the Pittsburgh papers, from the beginning of the strike to its end. Showing a fair sample of their spirit, the first of these advertisements, in the *Chronicle-Telegraph*, Saturday, September 27, carried a slogan three times repeated across the page in large type, "GO BACK TO WORK MONDAY," and besides quotations from the booklet, "Syndicalism," by W. Z. Foster, displayed such statements as these:

> Yesterday the enemy of Liberty was Prussianism. Today it is Radicalism.
>
> Masquerading under the cloak of the American Federation of Labor, a few Radicals are striving for power. They hope to seize control of the industries and turn the country over to the Red rule of Syndicalism.

Among the slogans presented in the advertising were the following, printed in type two inches high:

> America Is Calling You—The Steel Strike Will Fail—Be a 100 Per Cent American—Stand By America—The Steel Strike Can't Win, Boys—Let's Be 100 Per Cent American Now—Europe's Not What It Used To Be—Maybe the Doors of the Old U. S. A. Will Not Again Open to Them if Foreign-Born Now Here Return to Europe and Want to Come Back.

Whether by strange coincidence or as a consequence of this heavy advertising, the news and editorial attitude of the Pittsburgh papers could not have coincided with the attitude of this advertising more completely, or their policy supported the position of the Steel Corporation more earnestly and effectively, had they been owned outright by it. The public might justly have expected of the newspapers of Pittsburgh impartial exercise of editorial judgment and analysis in considering conflicting statements regarding the strike. The public has a sacred right to expect of the press that it at least attempt to give a truthful record of actual happenings. Instead, every one of the seven English-language newspapers of Pittsburgh insistently gave the impression that the men on strike were disloyal, un-American, and actuated by bolshevik theories.

As to the actual strikers' demands scarcely a reference can be found in the entire Pittsburgh press, from September 22, when the strike began, to its close at the end of December, beyond statements that they amounted, according to Judge Gary and other Steel Corporation officials, to the "closed shop." There was not one word of the resentment which stirred a great many good citizens of Pittsburgh against the suppression of free speech, peaceable assemblage, right of petition, and other constitutional guaranties. Only one article in the 400 issues gave any details of a first-hand observation of the strikers' loss of civil rights. That the clergymen of the district were unitedly opposed to the cause of the strikers was falsely indicated throughout by publication of only such comment by preachers which set forth that point of view. Only one independent investigation of the number of men striking was printed, and that, made by a news agency late in November, was based mainly on company figures. It confirmed the figures offered by the strikers, but denied publication, two months before. The only newspaper attempts to investigate con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ditions in the mills were made when visiting correspondents tried unsuccessfully to get passes from the companies into the mills.

In connection with the constantly reiterated charge of revolution and bolshevism it is worthy of note that no attempt was made at any honest, independent investigation into this grave charge. Disproof in plenty was ignored. The United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor in an exhaustive inquiry made in Pittsburgh in the midst of the strike found no revolutionary tendencies in the strikers' conduct. Testimony to this effect was available to the newspapers, but was left untouched.

The Interchurch Commission of Inquiry found that

> No interpretation of the movement as a plot or conspiracy fits the facts; that is, it was a mass movement in which leadership became of secondary importance. Charges of bolshevism or of industrial radicalism in the conduct of the strike were without foundation.

Not a single conviction was found against anybody and federal officials made not even a single arrest on this charge.

It was as clear to the discerning then as it must be to all now that "radicalism" was made to appear the chief issue in the strike solely as a means of falsely winning public sympathy to the position of the Steel Corporation. Day after day, with monotonous continuity, the Pittsburgh papers put up such streamer "scare-heads" as:

ALIEN STRIKERS' DEPORTATION URGED BY WALSH TO CRUSH RADICAL TENDENCIES HERE.—*Gazette-Times*, Oct. 3.

URGES DEPORTATION OF FOREIGNERS TAKEN BY POLICE IN STRIKE.—*Leader*, Oct. 6.

ALL ALIENS NOT RADICALS RETURN TO MILLS, REPORT.—*Chronicle-Telegraph*, Oct. 7.

DRASTIC STEPS DEALING WITH ALIENS ASKED.—*Gazette-Times*, Oct. 29.

GERMAN DESIGNS SUSPECTED.—*Gazette-Times*, Oct. 3.

INSPIRED WALKOUT TO REGAIN TRADE, STEEL MAN ASSERTS.—*Chronicle-Telegraph*, Oct. 2.

The *Chronicle-Telegraph*, under this latter heading, conspicuously displayed on the front page, had an incendiary story the full tenor of which as well as its sole authority show in the first paragraph:

> Numerous steel men today expressed themselves as believing the strike of steel laborers, which they say is now positively on the wane here, with the Russian Slav as the obstinate radical still out, was started either deliberately or otherwise in the interest of the Central Empires to get back their trade.

Such screaming headlines as these, supported by stories of like extravagance, commonly inspired by "a well-known steel head," no matter how irrelevant or irresponsible, nor how prejudicial to a fair understanding of the issues, were daily favorites for first-page display.

The only offered interpretation of the bolshevik theories that were declared to be held by the foreign elements among the strikers was that sought to be conveyed by copious extracts from Foster's "red" book, which book, however, certainly not one in a thousand of the unlettered foreigners on strike had ever read or even heard of. What rendered the name of Foster most odious to the Steel Corporation, and therefore anathema to the Pittsburgh press, was that he had just completed organization and leadership of the employees of the great Chicago packing combine in their successful contest for collective bargaining.

Throughout the strike period the Pittsburgh papers maintained an almost unbroken silence regarding the actual questions at issue—hours, pay, working conditions, lack of means of conference between employers and employees, not to mention housing and social conditions. The newspapers of Pittsburgh not only did not print these vital issues, but confused and covered them up with the false issue of "bolshevism."

The Interchurch investigation developed these facts:

> The annual earnings of over one-third of all productive iron and steel workers were, and had been for years, below the level set by government experts as the *minimum of subsistence* standard for families of five.
>
> The annual earnings of 72 per cent of all workers were, and had been for years, below the level set by government experts as the *minimum of comfort* level for families of five.
>
> Skilled steel labor was paid wages disproportionate to the earnings of the other two-thirds, thus binding the skilled class to the companies and creating divisions between the upper third and the rest of the force.
>
> Wage rates in the iron and steel industry as a whole are determined by the rates of the U. S. Steel Corporation. The Steel Corporation sets its wage rates, the same as its hour schedules, without conference (or collective bargaining), with its employees.

In the Pittsburgh papers, without a single exception worthy of note, the statements, demands, grievances, and testimony of the strikers, when mentioned at all, appeared under such headlines or in such context to give the impression that what the strikers sought was something extravagant, impossible, and unspeakable, and not at all to be accorded serious consideration. For example, the *Gazette-Times's* treatment of the Senate Committee proceedings, on October 11, when the strikers had their "day in court," was characteristically biased. Although many witnesses testified to the steel industry's long hours, to arbitrary treatment, to intimidation tactics of police and officials, to desire of foreign workmen to become Americanized, and their difficulty in learning English after a 12-hour day, only an insignificant part of the *Gazette-Times* story, toward the end, touched this testimony, while the headlines and "lead" made no reference to the real significance of the day's hearing. The next day the Senate Committee heard witnesses brought by the Steel Company, including the superintendent of the mill at Donora; and now a generous portion of the *Gazette-Times* space was devoted to the testimony, setting forth in full the superintendent's statement that the steel workers preferred a longer day with higher wages to an eight-hour day with reduced wages and the statements of non-striking highly paid skilled workers that they were not dissatisfied with their jobs and treatment. A summary of the Senate Committee hearings was given by the *Gazette-Times* in these headlines, October 13:

SENATORS FIND MILL WORKERS
HERE SATISFIED

Steel Strikers at Hearing Yesterday Unable to
Give Cause for Walkout

Domination Charged

Organizers Conducted Movement, Forcing
Men to Leave Plants

Foreigners Testify

Reasons for Strike Unknown

These two-day Senate Committee hearings in Pittsburgh afforded the only occasion forcing the local papers to give any recognition at all to the fact that the strikers had a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

case meriting a hearing; and even then there was no respect shown for the right of the public to know the facts brought out. Testimony before the Senate Committee led that body to characterize treatment of strikers in the name of the law as follows: "Their treatment by the officers has been brutal and their treatment in the courts does not accord with the high ideals of American democracy."

Concerning such suppression of civil rights the newspapers of Pittsburgh did not lack abundant information. It was thrust on them, but they ignored it. Much of it was of a character justly demanding not only publication, but vigorous following up. The Pittsburgh papers simply suppressed it.

At a special meeting at the Labor Temple on October 10 the Pittsburgh Central Labor Council, a long-established, traditionally regular trade-union body, adopted a resolution setting forth the following conditions as existing in the Pittsburgh district:

> That the Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries and all other steel companies aligned with it in their un-American war upon organized labor have instituted a campaign of vilification and libel through the medium of their subsidized press, in purchased advertisements and editorials and slander by their paid officials and hirelings.
>
> That they have inaugurated a state of terrorism as their sole method and hope of breaking this strike.
>
> That in their attempt to break the strike they have procured the assistance of various State, county, and city officials and police, together with the hired police, private detectives and thugs and strike-breakers of the company, and have made numerous unwarranted arrests and assaults upon helpless and defenseless people; denied union men the right to hold meetings, either upon the public commons or in private or rented halls, by threats directed against the owners of such halls and by refusal to grant permits . . . ; and by the sheriff of Allegheny County refusing to permit interpreters to translate by word of mouth any message conveyed to them by their English speakers and by refusing distribution of any literature.

Not only was this whole list of charges excluded from all the Pittsburgh papers, as if they were non-existent, but not one of these papers was moved by the natural journalistic impulse to make inquiry at the central council as to what facts it might have as foundation for such grave charges of official violation of civil rights.

A special convention in Pittsburgh of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, on November 2, representing 500,000 members, after hearing evidence of the denial of civil liberties in western Pennsylvania, voted unanimously to call a State-wide general strike unless the Governor should call a special session of the legislature or take other effective steps to restore law and order. This was news of sufficient importance to be displayed at length on the front pages of New York and Chicago papers, through special dispatches, but only one of the Pittsburgh papers had any mention whatever of the convention, and that on the sixth page, devoted mostly to quotation of the sole speaker against the action taken.

There was just one exception to this general rule of suppression. The Pittsburgh labor unions offered a petition to the city council begging the privilege of placing before that body the strikers' grievances against the police department, the mayor, magistrates, and sheriff's deputies, which petition, citing specific counts and signed by the presidents of seven local labor unions, the council by a tie vote refused to receive. The *Pittsburgh Leader* printed, October 15, a fair brief account of this action of the council and the petition in full. No other Pittsburgh paper saw news in this strange incident, and no criticism of the council appeared in any Pittsburgh paper except the *Leader*, which had been foremost in denouncing the strike as bolshevik, disloyal, and un-American, but now for the moment took a firm stand against the council action, saying editorially:

> It was PITTSBURGHERS who asked for the investigation. CITIZENS and TAXPAYERS—and they have the RIGHT of petition and the RIGHT to courteous treatment from their representatives in council. And the people of Pittsburgh, too, have the RIGHT TO KNOW whether any or all of the charges of the labor men are true or false. A REFUSAL to investigate will be accepted as a plea of GUILTY.

No results followed, and not even the *Leader* attempted an investigation, lacking which Pittsburgh stood convicted by the *Leader* editorial, the only article in 400 issues of seven newspapers in which sentiment for fair play was expressed. Not alone from labor organizations did complaints come of the violation of civil rights, but no matter what their origin, they got scant recognition in the papers of Pittsburgh.

The Church and Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America urged Governor Sproul, on November 23, to secure to the people of his State the right of assemblage and free speech. This action was taken, it was said, after the commission had carefully considered evidence gathered by its investigators. A letter sent to the Governor by Rev. Worth M. Tippy, executive secretary of the commission, said in part:

> In various steel towns in Pennsylvania the right of assemblage and free speech, even within buildings, has been and is being denied by various authorities. The consequences of such denial are to discredit the institutions of the United States among immigrant workers and to weaken the leadership of those who seek industrial change by constitutional methods.

While no Pittsburgh paper had space or taste for this calm finding of an impartial commission, not less than 150 articles appeared in them during the strike tending to create the impression in the public mind that the strike was fraught with disorder created by the strikers. Over stories which in themselves showed an utter lack of first-hand information appeared such headlines as follow:

ONE MAN SHOT; Constables and Strikers Hurt.—*Dispatch*, Oct. 22.

ONE SHOT; 20 HURT IN BRADDOCK STRIKE RIOTS; Many Hurt in Clashes Between State Police and Former Mill Workers.—*Gazette-Times*, Oct. 22.

RIOTING AT BRADDOCK IS QUICKLY SUPPRESSED.—*Sun*, Oct. 21.

EIGHT SUSPECTS ARRESTED IN RIOTING AT BRADDOCK.—*Gazette-Times*, Oct. 24.

STEEL WORKER'S HOME BOMBED AT DONORA; Four Are Arrested.—*Press*, Nov. 30.

FOUR FOREIGNERS HELD ON DYNAMITE CHARGE.—*Dispatch*, Nov. 8.

DONORA RADICALS TRY TO BLOW UP HOME AND BRIDGE.—*Press*, Nov. 11.

NEWSPAPER AT DONORA THREATENED.—*Leader*, Oct. 12.

TWO SHOT IN STRIKE RIOTS AT DONORA: SEVERAL INJURED.—*Chronicle-Telegraph*, Oct. 9.

DONORA AND ENVIRONS TERRIFIED BY BOMBS; Reign of Terror Exists Following Dynamiting of Homes and Street Car; Four Arrested on 12-Year-Old Boy's Testimony.—*Sun*, Nov. 7.

The "Donora bomb outrage," for instance, turned out to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be the explosion of a stick of dynamite under the porch not of a "loyal" worker but of a striker, in a personal vendetta. The other scare stories had as little foundation. The wide contrast between these reports of violence and fair accounts obtained by disinterested investigators from witnesses is so striking as to leave no doubt that there was no inquiry at all by the newspapers or else no disposition to give the truth. During the whole period of the strike but one article appeared which showed beyond doubt that an attempt had been made at first-hand reportorial investigation of disorder and riots. This article, in the *Press*, page 1, October 8, told how the writer had seen arms and hands and heads plastered up and how she had heard unquestionably reliable accounts of unprovoked assaults by troopers upon both men and women. No other Pittsburgh paper followed this one example of the *Press*, and the *Press* itself limited its enterprise and candor to the one example in three months. The constantly appearing stories of strikers' violence, however conflicting the accounts in the various papers, however unverified, however unfounded, still served well to justify in a debauched public opinion the official denials of civil rights and to create public sentiment for the Steel Corporation.

Another strike-breaking argument that persisted in advertisements, news articles, and editorials alike lay in the continuous assertion that the strikers were returning to work in great numbers. It is true that exact facts on this point were impossible to get because the steel mills were fortressed against newspaper men. But the best estimates then available were that on September 28 about 280,000 men went on strike; during the following week the total seemed to have exceeded 300,000, and by October 7 this number had considerably further increased. During these weeks when the strike was unquestionably increasing the Pittsburgh papers were invariably stating that it was waning. The manifest design, and perhaps effect, of these misrepresentations coming persistently through the press on the authority of "steel heads" was to drive strikers back to work through fear their jobs were being taken by others. The *Leader* on September 24, the third day of the strike, had a first-page article under a big display head, "PITTSBURGH MILLS RUNNING FULL; UNION MEN MEET." The article, however, contained no statement that the mills were running full; and they were not in fact running full six weeks later. The *Chronicle-Telegraph* on the same day, under a conspicuous first-page heading, "SITUATION GRATIFYING, SAYS CARNEGIE OFFICIAL," stated that

> in some manner it has got to them [the foreign workmen] that the American workmen had not gone out, as the foreigner had been told, and the latter has given expression to the desire to be an American and in some instances to have resented being called un-American.

The *Leader* on September 25 again misled its readers in the big headline, "WORKERS FLOCK BACK TO JOBS; BRADDOCK REPORTS THREE TIMES AS MANY WORKING TODAY AS YESTERDAY; MANY PLANTS OPEN." The *Chronicle-Telegraph* on October 1 had the headline, "STRIKE CRUMBLING, STEEL MEN SAY, BEFORE COUNTLESS NUMBERS RETURNING TO JOBS IN MILLS," and stated in its article:

> Countless numbers of men today again walked into the mills of the Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania district, according to manufacturers, who declared the steel laborers' strike is slowly but surely crumbling.

This article was a marked exception to the general rule in that it made some reference to a bulletin issued from strike headquarters that 370,000 men were now on strike. Throughout the strike the papers continued this policy. A wag with a turn for statistics checked up on their figures and found that the newspapers had informed the public that 2,400,000 men had gone back to work in the steel industry, where about 500,000 are normally employed, while continuing blindly to assert that conditions were "almost up to normal."

The popular impression that the church sentiment of the district was against the strikers was created by the prominent display of the sermons, addresses, and statements of both Protestant and Catholic clergy that were in accord with the policy of the Steel Corporation, especially when they assumed that the strike was of radical origin, while at the same time the newspapers strictly suppressed all preachers' utterances which criticized the civil officers and appealed for fair American treatment of the foreign born. Even when the Pittsburgh Council of the Churches of Christ, embracing 700 Protestant churches of all denominations in the district, issued an appeal, read from nearly every Protestant pulpit on Sunday, December 14, demanding a square deal for the foreigners through American enforcement of law and order, and designed to allay public hysteria, mention of this fully representative church appeal appeared in only two morning papers of Pittsburgh. The *Dispatch* printed a large part of it, but in small type on the fourth page and omitting the most important paragraphs. The *Post* reduced mention of it to a few paragraphs on the fourth page, attaching to it a denunciation of Bolshevists by a politician.

All this is but small part of the record of the perfidy and prostitution of the press of Pittsburgh, of which it stands convicted by its own files. It need not necessarily be assumed that the lucrative advertising patronage of the strike period was the sole, or the chief, or even a considerable element of influence in controlling the strike policies of the Pittsburgh papers. There are multiform influences too intricate for analysis here, but embraced in general by the fact that Pittsburgh, industrially, financially, commercially, politically, and socially, is dominated absolutely by the steel interests. It is thus dominated journalistically also. There has not been in years such a thing as a free press in Pittsburgh where steel is concerned.

This is deplorable enough; but infinitely more to be deplored is the fact we have witnessed that in a great industrial crisis of nation-wide importance the attitude of one group of papers, controlled by local conditions, should through press association transmission become the attitude of the entire daily press of the country. The Interchurch report, criticizing the entire press in this instance, was possibly unfair only inasmuch as the press generally perhaps, as well as the entire public, were deceived in accepting as truth the poison propaganda of Pittsburgh. But while the press of the country in general may not directly be responsible for these particular suppressions, fabrications, and distortions of Pittsburgh events, yet the press in general has the power and upon it rests the duty to remedy the press association practices through which selfish interests, prejudices, and corruption, local to one community, pollute the thought and sympathies of the whole nation, as one foul ulcer infects the whole system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Farmers and Congress

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

Washington, December 21, 1920

CONGRESS has come back to Washington to find itself face to face with a farm crisis. The precipitous fall of agricultural prices during the past six months means an estimated loss of $6,000,000,000 to the farmers, who after making this year's crop on the basis of the highest wages and other costs known since the Civil War, are now obliged to sell at prices in many instances below those of 1914. Number two corn, worth $1.90 a bushel in Kansas City on June 1, has dropped to less than 60 cents, and farmers are getting only 30 at many country shipping points. Hogs, fattened on $2 corn, were worth $17.16 in Chicago on September 20; today they are selling at $8.97. This year's cotton crop, perhaps the most expensive in our history, was planted when the fleecy staple was worth 40½ cents; in July the price reached 43¾ cents; today the New York market is not far from 15 cents.

This ruinous fall in prices has caught the farmer unprepared. Last spring he was urged to grow record crops, and he borrowed heavily in anticipation of the harvest; now with his notes falling due he is obliged to sell for whatever he can get, or go into bankruptcy. Twenty-six country banks in North Dakota have failed during the last thirty days, their customers being unable to meet their notes. The farmer's product today is being dumped into a demoralized market to break prices still farther. During the week of November 15 all records for receipts at the Chicago stock yards were broken. No less than 4,503 carloads of cattle were received, totaling 111,966 head, including 15,281 calves and thousands of breeding animals which would normally stay on the farms. A year ago Kansas had 2,000,000 hogs; today there are but 600,000 porkers in that State.

As a result of this sudden overturn, Congress is being deluged with petitions and demands for relief. Members' desks are piled high with letters and telegrams from all parts of the West and South. The farmers feel that they have been subject to discrimination in the matter of credit, and they do not hesitate to charge the Federal Reserve Board with bringing about deflation in ruthless disregard of the present position and needs of the farmer. Indeed, the feeling has become so acrimonious that Governor Harding recently interrupted a Congressional hearing on board policies to inquire, "Am I on trial here? Is the Reserve Board on trial?" The farmers have good ground for complaint, but they are blaming the Federal Reserve Board too late; the time to object was when the Board was encouraging inflation, but that was largely back in the good old days of the war, when nobody objected to anything except Huns. We are just beginning to sober up after the financial debauch of the great conflict, and the farmers have a rather worse headache than the rest of us.

Whether the Board has been unduly disregardful of agricultural needs in its drastic deflation policy is a question of judgment in the light of more or less contradictory facts. But one thing is plain to every instructed student of the Federal Reserve system. That system was devised primarily to meet the needs of manufactures and trade, not of agriculture; and its administration, it may be said without implying any criticism of the Board, has had in mind primarily the needs of industry rather than agriculture. When the inevitable credit crash following the war came, the farmer was landed high and dry, because no proper provision had ever been made to meet his credit needs. Not unnaturally, he blames our chief credit agency.

Hence the double proposal, which the Senate is still debating; first, to revive the War Finance Corporation "with the view of assisting in the financing of the exportation of agricultural products to foreign markets"; and second, to "direct" the Federal Reserve Board to take action "to grant liberal extensions of credit to the farmers of the country upon the security of the agricultural products now held by them, by permitting the rediscounting of such notes of extension at the lowest possible rate of interest." The revival of the War Finance Corporation is at least an arguable question, though it is doubtful whether such action would afford much actual relief, but for Congress to "direct" the Federal Reserve Board to do this or that in the present critical credit situation would be much like a blacksmith's undertaking to repair a watch with sledge and anvil.

In fact, Congress and the farmers and all the rest of us need to distinguish what can be done from what can't. Many of the farmers are in a desperate situation; they are entitled to any possible relief, and the well-being of the whole country demands that their industry be put on a sound basis. But omnipotence itself cannot make a three-year-old steer in ten minutes. Facts are facts. A spokesman of the agricultural interests recently declared in the Senate:

> The farmer has been made the goat so often that it was thought he could safely be made the goat again in the big task of deflation. But we have leaned on him too long. The burden has become too great. He cannot carry it. He will not.

But the lamentable fact is that he has got to carry it, though he be ruined in the operation, because there is no actual way, as conditions now are, of shifting the load. The task of statesmanship lies in devising permanent remedies so that he will not have to carry it again. It is this that lends interest to the proposals of Senator Capper, who has presented perhaps the most extensive program of farm legislation that has thus far been put forward.

As immediate measures of relief, he proposes the re-establishment of the War Finance Board, the suspension by the exchanges of future trading in farm products, the restoration of trade relations with foreign countries, and the establishment of credits that will enable Europe to buy. Deflation and the consequent fall of prices, the Kansas Senator maintains, were unavoidable, but they have been unnecessarily drastic and sudden as they affect the farmer. The administration of the Federal Reserve Act, he contends, has been in the hands of men unsympathetic with the farmer, and prices have been driven down unnecessarily by speculators, who have taken advantage of the necessity of the agricultural interests.

This situation suggests the two lines of reform advocated by the Kansan, the one affecting credit, the other marketing. As a permanent measure, he would first broaden the Federal farm loan system, allowing loans up to 75 per cent of the value of the land concerned, and would provide adequate credit through a system of short and long-time loans. He recognizes that the seasonal character of farming makes the farmer's paper more or less undesirable for the ordinary commercial bank, and that a system of agricultural credit must be devised which will allow for this inevitable difference. He would loan money to farmers on warehouse re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceipts for their grain and cotton, the transaction to be financed by the issue of short-term debentures to the investing public through the Federal Reserve Board or the Farm Loan Board. Detailed consideration of these suggestions is impossible, but it may be observed at any rate that they look in the right direction. They recognize that a permanent system of agriculture must furnish the farmer a basis of proper credit, adapted to his peculiar needs and limitations.

In the marketing field, two definite legislative measures have been put forward by Senator Capper. According to his view, the present machinery of the produce exchanges serves a useful purpose in the determination of prices, but it is being seriously abused by speculative gamblers, who drive down prices at the crop marketing season, thus widening the spread between producer and consumer, to their own gain, but to the great loss of everybody else. A bill has accordingly been introduced placing a prohibitive ten per cent tax on all contracts for future delivery of grain, grain products and cotton, and options for such contracts, (1) except where the seller is the actual owner of the physical property covered, and (2) except that actual growers, manufacturers, or dealers may make future contracts up to three times the quantity of products sold by them during their fiscal year. The purpose of the bill is to stop speculative gambling (more politely, pure speculation) in farm products, at the same time preserving the legitimate "hedge" on the part of the miller or cotton spinner who wants to protect himself against fluctuations in the price of his raw material. The Senator from Kansas has not made the mistake of undertaking to prohibit all sales for future delivery. Instead, he tries to distinguish "legitimate" from "illegitimate" future sales, and to make his gun hit it if it is a deer and miss it if it is a cow. One may have a measure of skepticism as to his success, but at least he makes an effort to distinguish the speculative sheep from the goats.

To his second measure almost everyone can give hearty approval except those persons who fear the bogy of "class legislation" (when it is not in favor of their own class) and that other group who believe in competition *à l'outrance*. The Capper-Hersman bill, which passed the House last spring and has just gone through the Senate in considerably modified form, proposes in effect to exempt associations of agricultural producers from the pains and penalties imposed by that addle-headed economic monstrosity the Sherman anti-trust law. The purpose of the measure is to legalize and encourage cooperative marketing of farm products. Few persons outside the movement itself have any idea of the scope of the plans now being laid by the farmers' groups, including the powerful Farm Bureau Federation, to handle the marketing of their own crops and live stock. The proposed measure is entirely in line with this tendency, which is among the most significant in our agricultural life today.

Given a proper credit system and intelligent cooperative marketing arrangements, on which other cooperative activities could be built, two of the three major problems of American agriculture would be solved. There would remain the greatest of all—the land question. Everywhere are heard the same complaints of the alarming growth of tenancy, and divers plans are proposed to make it easy to buy land. But the encouragment of small farming, the formation of personal credit unions, and other methods of stimulating ownership are only superficial modes of dealing with a deep-seated uneasiness. So long as land prices go up and down with the value of farm products and so long as every farmer is either a land speculator or a rack-rented tenant, so long will each recurrent cycle of agricultural prices cast up on the shore the wreck of those unfortunates who bought their farms at the top of the market—only to discover that they could not raise 50-cent corn on 500-dollar land. Once again we are about to be taught this lesson, but there is no indication as yet either in Congress or out that anyone sees below the surface phenomenon. For three hundred years we have successfully dealt with the land question like a herd of wild asses in the wilderness. Those good old days are gone, but we have not yet any new ideas to fit our new world. And so we stand today, a distracted farm population facing a puzzled Congress, and, staring down on both, like the three impassible oriental monkeys, our trinity of agricultural problems—credit and marketing and land.

Produce! Produce!

By GEORGE SOULE

TIMES without number, during the past two years, bankers and employers have told the country to get down to work. The world, they said, was denuded of necessary goods. It was the duty of all of us to produce, regardless of difficulties. Did the steel workers wish a few of their waking hours to devote to themselves and their families? Such a desire was wicked, because it interfered with production. Did the railroad men or the coal miners want an increase in wages to bring them abreast of high prices? It could not be considered for a moment. When the steel workers, and the coal miners, and the railroad workers, and many others, refused to sell their labor on conditions disastrous to themselves, their strikes were assailed as crimes against the community. They were coerced with injunctions and troops. And when the buying public in general protested against high rents, high food, high clothing, the rulers of industry told us it was all labor's fault. The thirty million wage-earners in the country were lazy and undisciplined. They bought silk shirts and automobiles out of their high wages, but they *would not produce*. If we wanted better times, we must all work harder.

Now appears a curious phenomenon. Workmen stopped buying not only silk shirts and automobiles—of which, after all, they had not consumed large quantities—but many other things as well. So did many other people. The silk business shriveled, and discharged thousands of operatives. So did the automobile business, and the woolen business, and the clothing business, and many other businesses. We find, strangely, that hundreds of thousands of workmen are clamoring for a chance to produce. And we find that the bankers and manufacturers who have been talking loudest about the duty of the workers to work harder, are the very ones who are now denying them the opportunity to work at all. The bankers will not give credit, the manufacturers will not manufacture, and the retailers will not buy. It is now the turn of the workman to arise in his righteous anger and say to the masters of the country's business, "Produce! produce! Why don't you all get down to work? Your conduct is criminal. You are a lot of unconscionable profiteers, and you ought to be shot at sunrise."

It is easy to see that such an attitude is unfair. Are there not already too many goods? The merchant has on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his shelves stock which does not sell. Any manufacturer who now should continue operation on a full scale would merely be piling up unused articles in the warehouses. The bank which gave the manufacturer credit for such a purpose would be risking money unwisely. This is a vicious circle which no individual can break. We seem to be suffering from what certain ill-advised economists used to call "overproduction." Overproduction—it has a strange sound. For it implies—does it not?—that the workmen have been creating too much and not buying enough. It implies that all the persons who told us so vehemently to produce were badly misled. Apparently they should have said to the workers, "Take it easy. Don't produce so much. Insist on high wages for a small output. For unless you do this, you will make more goods than you can buy, and the factories will have to shut down."

Suppose for a moment that the steel workers had been granted an eight-hour day with increased wages, and that their leisure had multiplied their wants at the same time that their purchasing power was enlarged. Suppose the coal miners and the railroad men had been able earlier to bring their wages up to the same level of purchasing power as before the war, perhaps even beyond it, without the immense dislocations of production which the strikes, caused by the obduracy of the employers, made necessary. Thus two things would have happened. The interruptions which were one factor of slackened production would have been avoided, and prices might not have risen so much. And thousands of workmen's families would have been buying houses, bathtubs, stoves, clothing, and a hundred other articles of merchandise which as it was they couldn't afford. Why are we not justified in saying that in this case there would have been more effective demand in the market, and hence larger production? Temporarily the increase in wages would have been a disadvantage to the employers in question. But eventually it would have returned to bless them.

Fundamentally, of course, production and consumption are two ends of the same stick. You can't eat any more wheat than you grow. The more goods there are produced, the more goods there are for use. And, the more people there are earning wages in production, the more people there are to buy what is made. Why, therefore, could we not keep right on making and buying ad infinitum? Why these involuntary interruptions of the productive process? We could work, it seems, as hard as we like, knowing that the result of our labor would be more shoes, clothing, and automobiles for each of us. Or we could slacken our work if that pleased us better, knowing that the result would be less goods for each of us. The only trouble with economists who theorize thus is that they are presupposing a condition in which all the producers have equal access to all that they make. They are presupposing one in which persons who do not produce get nothing at all. They are presupposing a flow of products whose valves are not controlled by prices, wages, and profits. They are presupposing, in other words, communism. Under communism it would be fair for one person to tell another that he had a moral duty to produce for the sake of the community. Under communism a major share of the responsibility for production would be individual. But let us be just enough to admit that under our own arrangement the homilies in favor of high productivity are pretty much beside the point.

Under our arrangement, responsibility for production is not wholly individual. What is important is not so much the desire to produce, as the terms under which production is to be carried on. When the miners struck, they were saying that if they could not sell their labor on terms which they believed necessary, they would not sell at all. The only difference between them and the business men who are now refusing to produce is the difference in the thing for sale. Now the merchants are on strike—they will not or cannot sell their goods low enough so that people will buy. Every manufacturer who is shut down is shut down not because there is any real oversupply of his goods. There are plenty of people who would like to possess what he makes. He is shut down because he refuses to make and sell his goods at prices low enough so that merchants will buy them. If he cannot produce at a profit, he will not produce at all. It is the same with sellers of raw materials. It is the same with every other element in the business complex. Each element is striking against the others. In the competitive scramble for the unequal distribution of goods, each group is deliberately slacking on the job—is *forced* to slack on the job—so that it may be in a favorable position for bargaining.

Suppose there were a factory in which each department, instead of being subordinated to the purpose of the whole factory, were a separate profit-seeking business. Suppose the receiving department sold the raw material to the first set of machines, and they in turn had to dicker with the second set when their work was done. Suppose the bookkeeping department were an independent bank, which loaned money separately to each of the other departments. Doubtless the factory would produce some goods. But imagine the confusions and restrictions which would result from the constant interposition of the bargaining process. Each department would urge the others to produce more, but it would be neglecting its own business if it produced so much itself as not to be able to exact a good price. Our present industrial order is operated on the principle of such a factory.

There cannot be one economic morality for labor and another one for business. We can say, there is a free market in which everyone is at liberty to grab as much as he can. Labor unions, retailers, bankers, manufacturers—all business associations are permitted to sell their wares for what they please, or otherwise not to sell at all. To restrain any one member of this complex, and not to restrain all, is impossible. Let them fight it out. The result, to be sure, is limitation of production, with hardship and want, with distressing hostilities which disturb our civil peace and thwart every advance toward humane standards. But the law of business, we can say, is the law of the jungle, and mankind must continue on that basis even if it perishes for the privilege. If, on the other hand, we are really interested in greater production, we must admit that the whole chaos of business must be recast on a functional basis. You cannot maintain production if the various groups engaged in it are always quarreling for the lion's share of the product. You cannot maintain production if those who control production are motivated not by the general need for goods, but by their own desire for profitable exchange. Preaching will not bring production, nor injunctions, nor compulsory arbitration, nor the open shop, nor the jailing of profiteers. Production must be organized. It must be organized on the basis of service and function, of the equitable distribution, among all the producers, of the goods they make.

It is impossible, of course, to bring about such organization in a day. But if we seriously want high productivity, it is well to understand the condition of its attainment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Solving Housing in England

By MALCOLM SPARKES

London, December 15

AMID all the tremendous chaos of the present industrial situation, the rise of the Guild of Builders stands out clear-cut and strong, a great fact from which we can take courage. Planned by men who believe that it is far more important to build up a new system than to destroy the old, it is a deliberate attempt to establish here and now a serious instalment of that new industrial order for which everyone is looking. And with the signature of its first contract—the Walthamstow Housing Scheme—the curtain rings up on one of the most adventurous experiments of our time.

The Guild is based upon the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, the London section of which embraces twelve trade unions with 60,000 men. As the Trade Union Ticket is the certificate of Guild membership, both Guild and Federation are really the same people, organized for different purposes. The Federation regulates industrial conditions; the Guild builds the houses. The control in each case rests with the rank and file and the whole structure is very simple and easily understood.

A Guild is a self-governing democracy of organized public service, with the whole team pulling together for the common purpose. The time-honored criticism that the workers cannot control industry because they know nothing about business disappears before the fact that the Guild of Builders includes in its ranks every type of building trade expert that there is, whether administrative, technical, or operative. Guild control is control by the people who do the work instead of control by the people who put up the money. Every essential function in the industry is therefore represented on the Guild Committee. The Operative Bricklayers' Society elect their man; the carpenters and joiners theirs; the painters, plumbers, plasterers, masons, etc., theirs.

The committee thus constituted has power to approve other associations or groups of building trade workers, and this is how the technicians come in. Under this clause, the architects' and surveyors' groups have already elected their representative; a group of civil engineers is being formed; and a further group of decorative painters and sculptors is under consideration. Here, also, come the local Guild committees. The Walthamstow Committee has a representative; Greenwich has another, and ten more are to follow.

From this it will be seen that the London Guild Committee will ultimately consist of some twenty-five to thirty members, about half of whom will be responsible to the craft unions or other approved functional organizations, and about half to the local Guild committees. The London Guild Committee thus forms the legal entity. It has already been registered as "The Guild of Builders (London) Limited." All committee men are directors; each holds one shilling share, and all are removable by their associations.

The labor of the guildsmen will not be treated as a mere commodity like bricks or timber, to be purchased as required and discarded when done with. When the financial arrangements are complete, pay will be continuous, in sickness or accident, in bad weather or in good. The word unemployment, as we used to understand it, is to be ruled out of the dictionary, let us hope, forever.

The contract just signed with the Walthamstow Urban District Council will probably be the model for many others. It creates a great triple alliance in which the Guild undertakes the whole of the work; the Cooperative Wholesale Society supplies the materials; and the Cooperative Insurance Society guarantees due performance of the contract—the liability under this head, however, being limited to one-fifth of the contract price. This price is the actual net prime cost of materials and labor at standard rates plus £40 per house to enable the Guild to guarantee a full week to each of its workers, and six per cent on the estimated cost as given in the Guild tender. Payments are to begin at the end of the first week and to continue weekly, the cost of plant and administration being met out of the six per cent.

It is the size of the contract that makes the six per cent fully sufficient for administration and equipment. The number of houses to be built at Walthamstow by the Guild is 400 and the estimated cost amounts to very nearly £400,000. It is anticipated that 3 per cent of this sum would be more than sufficient to provide first-class equipment of every kind. Already the Guild has secured a splendid plant of wood-working machinery, most of which is being installed on the site. The payment for this and other equipment is made possible by an advance by the Cooperative Wholesale Society's bank, secure against payments falling due under the contract.

These 400 houses only represent the first section of a much larger housing scheme for Walthamstow, but even by themselves they will make a very substantial contribution to the relief of the housing problem. The Walthamstow Guild Committee, which supplies the labor to the contract, is already overwhelmed with volunteers, and it is quite evident that the job will be fully manned, and the speed of its progress is only limited by the rate of delivery of materials. This is a problem that will not be satisfactorily solved until the Guild sets up an extensive organization for manufacture and supply of every essential article for building. This, however, is only a matter of time. For preliminary expenses the Guild is raising a loan without interest, by the sale of loan receipts of five shillings and upwards, which are repayable at the discretion of the directors from surplus earnings.

Although the payment of a limited rate of interest for the hire of capital is clearly permissible, it is a fundamental rule of the Guild constitution that surplus earnings can never be distributed as dividends but must always go to the improvement of the service either by way of increased equipment or technical training and research. The Guild intends to build the best possible buildings at the lowest possible cost. It concentrates on this service every improvement in process or in method that science and skill can provide. It throws aside all class distinctions and boldly calls for volunteers from every grade of the industry, for men who will take risks gladly in the doing of one of the greatest tasks that has ever been attempted. It is a real, living, industrial comradeship of service.

Contributors to This Issue

CHARLES GRANT MILLER, formerly editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, was for ten years chief editorial writer of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, for four years managing editor of the *Christian Herald*, and has recently contributed a notable series of articles on American journalism to the *Editor and Publisher*.

MALCOLM SPARKES is secretary of The Guild of Builders (London) Ltd.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Driftway

IT was with startled interest that the Drifter read that Mrs. James Longstreet, widow of the famous Confederate general and hero of the South, had been denied the vote, and that she was going to move to have the vote of Georgia thrown out in the Electoral College because of the wholesale disfranchisement of white and colored women in that State at the presidential election. What, he asked, has become of Southern chivalry that such a woman, bearing such a name, could be cheated of her vote? The Drifter would have expected that Mrs. Longstreet and every woman relative of Robert E. Lee's family would have been escorted to the polls by a brass band and a procession of the leading citizens of the town. And then his mind ran back to an incident that happened in the early days of Jim Crowing in Virginia. A white woman insisted upon sitting in the Jim Crow coach because the white cars were full and no one gave her a seat. The conductor protested, begged, urged, and then threatened with arrest—in vain. So at Alexandria the obdurate one was haled to court by a "burly policeman"—all policemen are burly when making arrests. Once in court, so tradition has it, it came time to take the lady's name. A Yankee "nigger-lover"? Not she, but Mildred Lee, a daughter of Robert E., himself. The speed with which she was bowed out of court, a thousand apologies tendered, and the affair hushed up, could only be adequately portrayed—so runs the tale—in comic opera. The Drifter has always had a little doubt about the story. Now, after Mrs. Longstreet's disfranchisement, he believes it to the full.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

A Diplomat of Experience

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I find the following item in the news columns of my local evening paper:

"The document presenting the peace prize to President Wilson and also the Nobel medal was received by Albert G. Schmedemann, the American minister to Norway, who read a message of thanks from President Wilson."

The point of concern, however, is not this new honor to the Admirable Wilson, which all right-thinking men appreciate as a peculiarly fitting crown for all his works. Moreover, that the author and preserver of the Fourteen Points would eventually receive the Nobel Peace Prize was a foregone conclusion for all who have been observing the course that ethical intelligence and international justice have been traversing for some time past on our globe. Incidentally, it is to be regretted—is it not?—that we are thus far denied the text of this message of thanks; for, in acknowledging distinguished courtesies from the Europeans, Mr. Wilson's vein invariably achieves its most punctilious felicities no less than its most felicitous punctilios.

But I forgot my point. Do you, sir, and do you, my fellow-citizens, know who the man is that mediated this historic transfer? Who is Mr. Schmedemann? My *Capital Times* can tell you. Permit me, then, to quote further:

"Mr. Schmedemann is a Madison man, being a member of the former clothing firm of Schmedemann & Baillie and a former alderman from the fourth ward."

I have only to remark that for my part, though I live in the tenth ward, I used to buy my pants of this diplomat.

Madison, Wisconsin, December 14 H. JACKSON

A New German Liberal Monthly

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: *Vivos Voco* is a new German monthly devoted to the cause of international reconciliation and domestic reconstruction upon the basis of liberal thought. The moving spirit in its management is Prof. Richard Woltereck of Leipzig University, a noted scientist who during the war organized the distribution of books in French and Swiss internment camps and who has since done remarkable work in relieving the widely spread distress, both physical and intellectual, among German students. Associated with him as co-editors are the well-known poet, Hermann Hesse, and Franz Carl Endres, editor of the foremost liberal weekly in Bavaria, the *Süddeutsche Presse*. The monthly which was founded a year ago, is doing distinguished service in counteracting the reactionary tendencies in German intellectual life and is helping to create a new spirit throughout Europe, a state of mind to which the lessons of the world war shall not have been in vain.

It stands for genuine self-determination of peoples, for a truly authoritative league of nations, for the judicial undoing of the injustices wrought by force; for freedom in education, industrial democracy, religious regeneration, and against imperialism and militarism of whatever sort. It combats class rule, race prejudice, and vested privilege; and calls upon all classes and parties to avert by common constructive work the common danger of the extinction of European civilization. It cultivates a broad cosmopolitanism in literature and art, and seeks to heal a generation brutalized by the passion of war through spreading personal refinement and spirituality. And by placing itself at the disposal of the relief work for hungry and sick students, it takes part in the actual saving of lives which are needed for the future of mankind.

It seems to me very important that *Vivos Voco* should find a large circle of readers and, if possible, financial assistance in the United States. No other periodical could give Americans as vivid and accurate a view of the present state of German academic opinion or could put them in as close a contact with the upbuilding forces in contemporary German life. And no type of public opinion in Germany deserves more hearty support from Americans than that which this monthly represents. The annual price is 30 marks, or 12 francs in Swiss currency. The publishers are Seemann & Co., Leipzig.

Cambridge, Mass., November 27 KUNO FRANCKE

Honorable Mention for Jersey City

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I cannot dispute the accuracy of Faith Adams's account of the social difficulties of the Negroes, but I contend that it does not apply to all of the United States. I was brought up in a small town in western Pennsylvania, and I recall that the colored people, while they were all of the working class, and were treated as such, went to the same schools and churches as the whites, and were treated with respect and consideration.

Here in Jersey City my wife has colored girls in her Sunday School class, and cannot notice the least unkindness shown them. The senior patrol leader of my Boy Scout troop is a Negro, and he appears to be well liked by the others. The *Jersey Journal* regularly reports the doings of the many colored women's clubs, and it appears that the average of culture must be higher among them than among the whites, for there is only one white women's club, which is select and expensive. Negroes are not segregated as to residence. I believe that the whole trouble comes from pretenders to aristocracy and social climbers. Suburban towns are where they most congregate, and these should be avoided by Negroes. They will do best either in the cities or entirely clear of them.

Jersey City, November 27 ARCHIBALD CRAIG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Collins in Reply

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have just received a copy of *The Nation* under date of December 15, and find on page 691 of that issue a letter signed by one G. J. Knapp, whom I never saw, read of, or heard from before, of Salt Lake City, Utah, November 25, which contains the following statement with reference to myself, which he the said G. J. Knapp pretends to have read in a (western) North Dakota newspaper, the name of which paper he does not mention in the letter to *The Nation* of the above date. "Socialists, says Mr. Collins, should be so handled that in a few minutes they will be scurrying into holes to hide, or seeking hospitals to have their wounds doctored."

As *The Nation* deemed this letter of Mr. Knapp's to be important enough to give special prominence in issue mentioned, I would deem it a favor if you would give the same prominence to my statement that the above declaration which Mr. Knapp declares he saw in a newspaper of western North Dakota was never made by me and is a deliberate and malicious libel manufactured either by the writer of the letter in *The Nation* himself or by some other person.

I must say very frankly that I even doubt the statement of Mr. Knapp that he ever saw or read such a statement in any North Dakota newspaper or in any other newspaper in the United States. The entire letter of G. J. Knapp is fraught with lurid misstatements and would not be worthy of a dignified reply other than that, as a matter of justice to your publication and its readers, statement of its denial should be made.

In the course of Mr. Knapp's letter he classes my activity in fighting Bolshevism, Socialism, and I. W. W.ism, and allied isms as the same character of work being done by Rt. Rev. Bishop Wehrle of Bismarck, N. D., and of the American Legion. May I say through the channels of your publication that I consider this coupling by comparison of my work with that of the Rt. Rev. Bishop and the American Legion as a sincere compliment, for I have had an opportunity of coming in contact personally from one end of the country to the other with the excellent work done by the American Legion and also the splendid service of the Right Reverend Bishop in the cause of American ideals and service for citizenship.

New Haven, Connecticut, December 21 Peter W. Collins

Bigotry Not One-Sided

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am glad Mr. G. J. Knapp took advantage of my recent article on Bigotry in the South to point out to your readers that bigotry is not at all one-sided in this country and that it is not confined to the South. Indeed, had I the time, I would gladly investigate and write for publication an account of the activities of such pernicious individuals as Peter W. Collins, Knights of Columbus lecturer, referred to in Mr. Knapp's letter. In the past year I have visited virtually every State in the Union and everywhere I have gone I have heard of Mr. Peter W. Collins. My general information leads me to the conclusion that Mr. Peter W. Collins is, if possible, a more malignant agent of bigotry than Tom Watson himself. And I do not stop at Mr. Collins as an individual, for, as I understand his status, he is a paid lecturer of the Knights of Columbus. Personally, I would no sooner join the Knights of Columbus than I would join the Masons or the Odd Fellows. They are all in the same category to me. But I do especially condemn the Knights of Columbus for fostering bigoted attacks on Socialists. This is a free country and we are supposed to be guaranteed the right to think for ourselves and to vote as we choose without molestation from any source. That is my understanding of Americanism, and that understanding is what impelled my resentment of persecution of Catholics in the South. So long as the Knights of Columbus support men like Peter W. Collins in their campaigns of ignorant incitement to violence against men and women who happen to be Socialists I shall consider the Knights of Columbus to be an un-American organization, just as I consider the secret Protestant societies which foster bigotry against Catholics to be un-American organizations. I thank Mr. Knapp for his letter.

Westport, Conn., December 11 Charles P. Sweeney

The League and Enslaved Nations

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: May I ask why you did not include in your program for a World League what seems to me a most essential provision for the establishment of a League of Free Nations and the prevention of war, that is the right of subject nations to independence? In the same issue in which you set forth your program, a correspondent says that President Wilson's "war speeches and messages expressed a lofty aspiration and set forth a magnificent ideal program." That is true; and included in that ideal program was: "The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

In *The Nation* of May 17, 1919, you characterized the League of Nations as an alliance of three great Powers to enforce their will upon all others. Yet you suggest a program that would leave subject peoples in the grasp of those imperialistic slave masters and take from the political slaves all hope of freedom. With respect to the right of peoples to be free and independent, where, may I ask, does your program differ from the Paris Covenant? Was not the war fought for the "liberty, self-government, and undictated development of all peoples"? Was that object attained by the war? Was the Covenant formulated for the purpose of completing that part of the unattained ideal program? It was not; and because it was not, you and all honest men condemned it. Why, then, do you propose a program that does not contain a provision for the completion of that for which we fought?

Ever since the Covenant was brought from Paris, the most prominent pro-Leaguers have frowned on any mention of Korea, Shantung, Egypt, Persia, India, and Ireland as countries entitled to self-determination. These men have proclaimed from the house-tops that they favor the League because they believe it will prevent war. They were the most vociferous in denouncing Germany for desiring to make political slaves of other nations. Did they believe what they said of Germany? If they did, how can they reconcile their belief that the League will prevent war and their denunciation of Germany's attempt to enslave nations, with their approbation of the enslavement of Korea, Shantung, Egypt, India, Persia, and Ireland? Do those men deprecate talk of freeing subject nations because England is the great political slave master? Does *The Nation* leave out of its program for a World League all mention of enslaved peoples because most of them are England's slaves? If that is not the reason for the omission, as a subscriber and great admirer of *The Nation*, I should like to know why there was not inserted a provision for the settlement of every question of territory and sovereignty before the League is established, and thus avoid war through the efforts of subject peoples to be free?

New York, November 15 Joseph Forrester

[What our reader asks in his last question is impossible. But *The Nation*, of course, stands for political freedom for every subject country and race. Our program, we believe, does lead directly toward the realization of our American ideals.—Editor The Nation.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Roosevelt and His Time

Theodore Roosevelt and His Time. Shown in His Own Letters. By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. Charles Scribner's Sons.

AFTER the flurry of books about Roosevelt that followed his death, it should be said with emphasis that this, the authorized life enriched with a quantity of hitherto unpublished letters and documents, may be read with keen interest by those who have digested all its predecessors. It is a work of notable artistic merit. With severe and even subtle economy of means, Mr. Bishop has composed the figure of an American statesman of sinewy virtues, essentially self-consistent, of heroic sincerity, a hard fighter, enormously enjoying the use of his powers, yet eager to be spent for great ends, and capable in a supreme crisis—if it appealed to him personally as such—of flinging soul and body down "for God to plow them under." Before he left the world Roosevelt had pretty well convinced intelligent observers that he was at heart, through all the dust and whirlwinds of his political conflicts, that sort of a man. Mr. Bishop's work can hardly fail to strengthen the impression, even in the minds of the sharpest critics.

Perhaps fifty years hence it may generally be conceded that this book preserves what is important in "the true Theodore Roosevelt's" character. Even then there will be debate about the wisdom of many of his acts. At present one cannot help feeling that Mr. Bishop's figure of rugged integrity, unerring rectitude, and loftiest patriotism has been shorn of some of its beams. A two-volume record of one who for thirty years touched the life of his times at every point cannot of course be exhaustive. Mr. Bishop partly solves his problem by overt omissions. For example, he gives no account of the Colonel's active participation in the war with Spain, merely referring to the authorized version in the "Autobiography" and "The Rough Riders." With similar reference to Roosevelt's own books, he passes over in a few paragraphs such episodes as the ranch life in the West, the great African hunting trip, and the exploration in South America. The effect is obviously to diminish the immense impression of gusto, physical daring, and adventurousness which the living man kept stamping as his personal mark upon the consciousness of his contemporaries. The means for restoring the impression are in this case readily at hand.

There are other points, however, of greater importance in an exhibition of the statesman's relations with his times, points at which Mr. Bishop's artistic economy would strike an unauthorized biographer with access to the same materials as parsimony. It will rather puzzle the reader of this book fifty years hence to understand why such a man as it presents should have made in his lifetime so many eminent and high-minded men distrustful of him and actively hostile to him. I will mention three main points at which Mr. Bishop's treatment is parsimonious. In the first place, though he pays due tribute to Roosevelt's mere technical efficiency in the Navy Department, he gives no adequate account of his tremendous contribution, by pen and tongue and act, to the spirit of militant imperialism in those years when he nourished the exorbitant dream of expanding the national domain from the Isthmus to the Arctic Circle. Secondly, he exhibits very scantily the incomparable intemperance and virulence with which Roosevelt habitually attacked both his enemies and his old friends, at the first sign of a dissenting opinion. In the third place, he treads with the wariness of one passing over hot ashes, with the delicacy of one passing over freshly-turned earth in a cemetery, over the grave of the Progressive Party.

These suppressions, these omissions, this subdued voice at these trying moments, are all perhaps in the interest of good taste and the artistic effect which an authorized biographer should seek. But what a flash of light upon the innermost springs of character some biographer bent upon "the whole truth" will throw, who, having assembled all Mr. Bishop's sources of information, begins his chapter on the Progressive "episode" as follows: "Mr. Roosevelt regarded the administration of Mr. Wilson as an almost unmitigated calamity. Mr. Roosevelt may fairly be said to have put Mr. Wilson into office and therefore may be regarded as the cause of that 'calamity.' Precisely why did he do it, and how did he afterwards regard his great secession? How far was he led in that affair by 'radical liberalism,' how far by the spirit of a vengeful Coriolanus?"

Mr. Bishop's work is notably contributive with respect to what Roosevelt best liked to dwell upon, his "substantive achievements." He discusses with excellent lucidity and effect Roosevelt's pioneer effort in the taxation of franchises, his great constructive work towards the control of corporations doing interstate business, and his active representation of the public interest in disputes between labor and capital. By the publication of much evidence, of which we have hitherto only guessed the existence, he establishes Roosevelt's title to all the credit he received for his part in concluding the Russo-Japanese War. He greatly enlarges our conception of the role of American diplomacy in the Algeciras Conference. He has a very pretty chapter on the collaborative attempt of Roosevelt and Saint-Gaudens to reform the coinage on the model of the gold coins struck by Alexander the Great, showing Roosevelt an aggressive supporter of art against the Philistinism of the Mint. As secretary to the Canal Commission, long resident in the zone, he writes with intimate information of the diplomatic and administrative matters connected with the "taking" of Panama; and cheerfully quotes Roosevelt's admission that he did not give the "pithecoid" bandits of Bogota quite the deal that a civilized European nation would have expected from him, and his remark that "a goodly number of the Senators even of my own party have shown about as much backbone as so many angle worms."

There was perhaps not much to add to our previous knowledge of Roosevelt as a fearless international poker-player—with Germany over the Venezuela affair, with England in the matter of the Alaska boundary, with Japan at the time of the famous voyage of the fleet. On each occasion, he asserted that he intended to have his way, privately or publicly swung the big stick, and "got away with it." But Mr. Bishop publishes a batch of Roosevelt's correspondence with King Edward, the Kaiser, the Japanese Emperor, and the Czar, which throws striking and sometimes amusing lights on their personal relations, and gives one a rather breathless sense of the dependence of nations on the skill and good nature of half a dozen great gamesters, who may, if they like, so please one another by the tact of their compliments and their exchanges of gifts, that a working *entente* will develop out of the apparently casual postscripts to their letters, and their faithful ambassadors will act at conference like two souls with but a single thought. In this connection, it is interesting to note that while King Edward sends to Roosevelt a miniature of Hampden and a book containing illustrations of the Sèvres Porcelain Collection in Windsor Castle, the Kaiser sends a publication of the water colors illustrating "the history of the uniforms under the King's reign." In the spring of the following year, 1908, Roosevelt writes to his dear Emperor William felicitations on the growing goodwill between the United States and Germany, trusts that his friend has noticed that the fleet has come around South America "on schedule time," and concludes with the short and somewhat pointed paragraph:

> Their target practice has been excellent.
> With high regards, believe me,
> Very faithfully your friend.

The most tantalizing sentence in the biography is this: "A bulky volume could be made of his correspondence with English writers alone." By all means, let us have it, *pour encourager les autres*—Mr. Harding and the rest of us. The love and cultivation of letters, we can all agree, is a rare and beautiful trait in an American statesman. To make the suggestion more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alluring, Mr. Bishop quotes fairly copiously from Roosevelt's charming correspondence with the English historian, Sir George Otto Trevelyan. The masterpiece of the collection, probably one of the longest epistles in the world, is a letter of 25,000 words sent to Trevelyan in 1911, describing Roosevelt's adventures with kings and kaisers in his grand tour of the courts from Khartoum to London. The spice and intimacy of it may be suggested by his cautionary remark that most of it "would be obviously entirely out of the question to make public, at any rate until long after all of us who are now alive are dead." Apart from the interest in its untrammeled comment, especially on the Germans and their ruler, it is very beguiling reading for a convinced American because of its undertone of democratic compassion for royal society. Roosevelt never believed more sincerely and sturdily in his native manners and institutions and in Lincoln's "plain people" than when he came home from hobnobbing with kings. Perhaps his reaction against the kings is the real key to his anarchical proceedings against the Republican National Committee.

Between the close of the Progressive Campaign and the opening of his campaign for America's entering the war there was a brief lull in his activities, with occasional moments when he felt that the people were wearying of him and that he didn't mind very much if they were. Let the heathen rage; he had done his work and made his place in history. There still remained his home, his books, and his rich memories. A letter to his son, Kermit, written in one of these intervals in November of 1914, shows him on a quiet holiday with Mrs. Roosevelt in the delightful autumnal mood of a retired statesman thoroughly enjoying rest from his labors. "I cannot expect most people to believe," he declares, "that I have not for years been happier than since election. . . . We have had ten lovely days here. I have ridden once or twice. Two or three times I have taken Mother for a row and we have walked together and sat by the wood fire in the late afternoon and evening. I was going to say that I have been as happy as a king, but as a matter of fact I have been infinitely happier than any of the kings I know, poor devils!"

On these same holidays he wrote, looking back on the crusade of 1912, these words, in which defeat is swallowed up in philosophic resignation to man's political nature: "The average man is a Democrat or a Republican and he is this as a matter of faith, not as a matter of morals. He no more requires a reason for so being than an adherent of the blue or green factions of the Byzantine Circus required a reason." The strained voice of the prophet and exhorter has subsided to the pitch of the sage, and his reflections have an attractive note, rare in a man of his intensely active temper, of almost tranquil meditation. On this same day, he writes to another correspondent: "It has been wisely said that while martyrdom is often right for the individual, what society needs is victory. . . . When it is evident that a leader's day is past, the one service he can render is to step aside and leave the ground clear for the development of a successor. It seems to me that such is the case now as regards myself. 'Heartily know that the half gods go when the gods arise.'"

There was that within Roosevelt, as we all know, which would not let him retire, an internal spur that drove him at the sound of the trumpet to the thick of every conflict. The very letter to his son in which he says that he is happy as a king ends with the declaration that King Albert of Belgium, "in spite of the awful misfortunes of himself and his country, is of all of them the one who is leading the life I most admire." There are many intimate letters of the war period which I think a fair-minded reader can hardly peruse without feeling that they relieve Roosevelt's reputation to a considerable degree from the charge of purely personal rancor and purely selfish political motive in his ferocious attacks on the Administration. They relieve it by proving the burning sincerity of his desire to get the country into the war, even though it should cost him all his popularity. He did acknowledge that he yearned to be President; but he thought, for the moment at least, that he would be willing to quit office the instant the indispensable national tasks were accomplished. In April, 1916, he wrote to an English friend that it would be as hard to elect him as it would have been to elect Hamilton against Jefferson in 1808: "I have had to be the pioneer in this movement, and as Lincoln, with his homely common sense said, the trouble with pioneers is that they necessarily get so battered and splashed that they cannot be used at subsequent stages of the movement." If ever in his life Roosevelt conceived of himself as merely a selfless instrument to be used and broken, if necessary, by the nation, it was in the period between the sinking of the Lusitania and our active participation in the war. So much is clear.

Afterwards, when preparations for peace were afoot, when another leader was in Europe with a high-aspiring plan for the welfare of the world, when the weight of American influence still depended as much as in the war upon unity of American effort, when eminent Senators began to undermine and discredit abroad the nation's chief representative, when the political jockeys at home began to sniff the air of the next presidential election—from that time, the purity of Roosevelt's motives and the singleness of his patriotic purpose were no longer so manifest. The dictator who had set up Mr. Taft and had pulled him down and had set up Mr. Wilson and was pulling him down seems almost to have been governed by a habit and instinct deeper and stronger than any reason or principle. At any rate, he threw the weight of his immense influence to the "blue faction" in the Byzantine circus of American politics, which was blocking an attempt at a magnificent "substantive achievement" by a miscellaneous, helterskelter, but stubborn opposition. Would Roosevelt, had he been in power, have met a manifest opportunity for the radical reorganization of international relations with a wiggling and baffling negativity? Would a selfless leader like Lincoln, whom he proclaimed as his model, have given to party, in a crisis like this, what was meant for human kind? A hard question to ask of a political animal.

STUART P. SHERMAN

Reports on Russia

The Russian Peasant and the Revolution. By Maurice G. Hindus. Henry Holt and Company.

The Bolshevik Theory. By R. W. Postgate. Dodd, Mead and Company.

The Bolshevik Adventure. By John Pollock. E. P. Dutton and Company.

A BOOK of substantial information bearing on the most important factor in the revolutionary situation of Russia is what Mr. Hindus has provided for us. Its contribution to the understanding of the political and economic problem is impressive because the writer is so evidently without any axe of his own to grind. He is no willing instrument of propaganda, no slave of a theoretic formula. Such bias as he has is valuable, being the result of his own peasant origin and early associations. He knows the people and the experiences that he describes, not as an interested outsider but as one who has lived the life. He carries us to the heart of the peasant's existence, reveals his characteristic humanity, and makes clear his wants and capacities. There are lucid and concrete chapters, without sentimentality, as remote as possible from the moonshine with which Stephen Graham for some years saturated English readers, on the home life of the peasant, his manner of earning his livelihood, the disabilities under which he has struggled during serfdom and since, his gropings toward an education, his mental attitude toward politics and society, his strong practical sense as displayed in his tenacious attachment to his land and his success in cooperative undertakings. The foundations being thus solidly laid for our understanding of the peasant's character, we are in a better position to form a judgment on the probable course of events in Russia. Mr. Hindus does not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leave us to form that judgment for ourselves, but by his account of the relation to the peasant of the leading political parties he reenforces our conviction that the final settlement of the land will not be on the basis of communism. Though not sharing their ideal, Mr. Hindus seems to be grateful to the Bolsheviks for their negative achievement, if it is just to call it negative, in making possible the seizure of the land by the peasants. There are few recent books on Russia so informing in substance, so admirably restrained in temper, and so attractively written. It should prove acceptable to readers regardless of their political sympathies.

Mr. Postgate's volume, while pretending to be only plain exposition, no more pro-Bolshevik than anti-Bolshevik, is nevertheless a statement of communist principles such as any believer might give, except that the tone is defensive and emotional warmth is quite lacking. The writer is aware of a hostile audience and he wishes to create an impression that he is dispassionate. But in reality he has accepted uncritically the Bolshevist point of view and, in justification of all the policies of the existing government, he has advanced all its favorite arguments against trusting the majority, its theories about the selfishness of the middle class and the stupidity and inertia of the lower class. An example of his reasoning in support of autocratic methods is the observation that "the majority of Negro slaves in America apparently viewed the change in their status with resentment." But be the force of his arguments what it may, Mr. Postgate should be told that the world is at present much less interested in the discussion of theories *in vacuo* than in the actual workings of the Soviet system. Appropriate and useful appendices to this book are the Communist Manifesto and Lenin's theses read before the Third International. The latter by its intellectual sweep and boldness and its uncompromising candor might infect even a sceptic.

John Pollock is described on his title-page as Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The like of his book for misstatement, weakness of thought, and excited imagination is not to be found even among books on Russia. To any one possessing a modicum of information about the events of the last few years, the book may be recommended for its perfection of absurdity. For most readers it will probably be enough to know that Mr. Pollock stands on the Sisson documents and on the theory that the Bolshevist revolution is a German conspiracy engineered by Jews. He repeats all the celebrated canards about Bolshevist atrociousness, not sparing us even the "compulsory prostitution of women." Mr. Pollock assures us that he lived in Russia from March, 1915, till late in 1918 and ought, therefore, to know something of what took place in those fateful years. We agree that he ought. It would take too much space to report all the good things that are to be found in Mr. Pollock's book, such as his picture of Lenin sumptuously served by footmen in livery and washing down his magnificent repasts with choice wines, his suggestion that Petrograd and Moscow are being starved by the deliberate will of the Soviets, and his delicious theory of active collusion between Kerensky and Lenin to bring about the ruin of Russia. The last, we believe, is his most original as well as his most brilliant addition to our knowledge.

JACOB ZEITLIN

Sapphics

Flame and Shadow. By Sara Teasdale. The Macmillan Company.

Precipitations. By Evelyn Scott. Nicholas L. Brown.

A NEW volume by Sara Teasdale must be opened with anxiety—anxiety lest its author's old intensity of metaphor and meter be felt to have lessened, lest the glowing shapes of her love be seen to have paled and grown vague. The Sappho of this century and continent must be free, if anyone can be free, of poetical cant. Thus considered, at least a fourth or a third of "Flame and Shadow" meets the eagerest expectations. There is much in the book that is not fine, but there is enough that is. Sara Teasdale seems constantly assailed with two temptations, and it is only at intervals that she entirely surmounts them. One is the temptation to make effective endings, to save up points and appeals for a last line. This may come from having been set so often to music; she keeps her eye and ear too much, perhaps, on a possible singer whose audience will reward a neat conclusion with ripples of pleasure and applause. At any rate, it faintly tends to cheapen her product as poetry. The other temptation is to deal exclusively in stock love-lyric materials—in herself as "singer," in abstract Beauty, in the "call" of her love to this or that creature or thing, and in personified Pain. To handle these things complacently and forever is to be a minor poet, in whatever age you live. By now, for instance, the "Pain" of the twentieth century poetess is as conventional and irritating as the "pains" of Augustan Damons and Strephons had become by 1720. Sara Teasdale only reaches her perfection when, defeating her temptations, she interpenetrates pain with metaphor and metaphor with pain, when she finds the proper balance between fire and form, between the complexity of a condition and the simplicity of a cry:

I made you many and many a song,
Yet never one told all you are—
It was as though a net of words
Were flung to catch a star.

It was as though I curved my hand
And dipped sea-water eagerly,
Only to find it lost the blue
Dark splendor of the sea.

The world of Evelyn Scott is a violently different one, and her conduct in it is strange compared with this. Sara Teasdale lives and speaks within limits, while Evelyn Scott knows none. Rather than succinct stanzas, she must have free verse; rather than love for an only subject, she must have the whole universe of possible sensation and surprise. Sara Teasdale draws her breath in ecstasy and pain among the time-old facts of poetry—the dark sea, the burning stars, the variable wind, the shining sun, and rain on flowers. Accepting a sphere of expression from a long past, she is content with living passionately and plaintively within it. Evelyn Scott, accepting nothing, is committed to extravagant effort; she must live a sphere rather than live in one. At no time do the walls of tradition serve her, either as mirrors or as sounding-boards. Her faculties must always be on the hunt, her fancy must always be clutching for identities unguessed before. Sara Teasdale can be soft and supplicating in her simplicity; Evelyn Scott must keep alert and almost rigid, ready to gyrate forth across new planes of sensation. She must be bold or be nothing. Yet if her book has the effect of a feat more often than it has the effect of experience, a great deal of interesting experience is actually and accurately there, and the feats themselves are never mean ones. Radical impressionism rarely produces lines like these, from Winter Streets:

The houses, rearing themselves higher,
Assemble among the clouds.
Night blows through me.
I am clear with its bitterness.
I tinkle along brick canyons
Like a crystal leaf.

And in Old Ladies' Valhalla there is that touch of nature which is peculiar to none of the schools:

I am thinking of the peace in one's own little home
When the afternoon sunshine drips on the shiny floor,
And the rugs are in order,
And the roses in the bowl plunge into shadow
Like pink nymphs into a pool,
While there is no sound to be heard above the hum of the tea-kettle
Save the benevolent buzzing of flies in the clean sash curtain.

MARK VAN DOREN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

Gray and Gold

A COMPANY of distinguished players has pooled small sums out of the savings of its members and started acting in the tiny Bramhall Playhouse on Twenty-Seventh Street. It is not unimportant to remark that at the end of the first week the moderate rental and salaries had all been paid and that the greater portion of the original investment—all, in fact, that had not gone for initial expenses—was safe in bank. The owner of the Bramhall, we believe, inherited the building and installed the little theater that has had such varied artistic fortunes. The whole experiment illustrates once more the fact that there is an increasing audience for sound plays soundly presented and that it can be readily reached once the players escape the slavery to a manager who is himself a real-estate speculator or at the mercy of those who are. This audience is now indeed so large that one play after another demands roomier houses than the little theater movements can provide. The producers of "Heartbreak House," "Emperor Jones," "The Mob," "Mixed Marriage" could all take their plays successfully further up town. But when a large house becomes empty, there is at once rushed into it a melodrama of inter-tribal hatred and contempt, such as "The Broken Wing" (Forty-Eighth Street Theater), or a crook-play, such as "Cornered" (Astor Theater). The friend of the American theater will insist on all fitting occasions that what is needed now is at least one large, independent playhouse to which the successes of the little theaters can be transferred.

The play selected by the actors at the Bramhall is "Mixed Marriage" by St. John Ervine. It is not a great play. But the naturalistic drama entered English literature so late that it is still fresh and tonic to us. More solidly and coherently motivated than "John Ferguson," it is less compact than "Jane Clegg" and less sharp in its intellectual perceptions. In place of these its action carries the weighty implication that fancied and accidental divisions keep men tragically weak in the face of real and common dangers. The execution has, in structure, characterization, and dialogue, the merits which still, in a world that hums with all the varieties of neo-romantic experimentation, render the technique called naturalism unapproachable in the beauty and lasting power of its creative results. Quite minor naturalistic novelists and playwrights share in some measure Hazlitt's memorable praise of Rembrandt. Their pictures, too, "savor so of the soul and body of reality that the thoughts seem identical with the objects."

The production of "Mixed Marriage," making necessary allowance for the technical limitations of the Bramhall stage, rivals the best Theater Guild productions in inner and outer veracity, in the creation of mood and the imaginative reconstruction of living people. Mr. Augustin Duncan has never been better. His John Rainey has a thick and wooden stubbornness. It is tempered by vanity, but it never really bends and dictates the tragic outcome. Mr. Rollo Peters and Mr. Barry Macolum play Rainey's contrasted yet united sons with touches of poetry and humor. Miss Margaret Wycherly gives the finest impersonation of her career. In "Jane Clegg" her surface was necessarily hard. As Mrs. Rainey she has a soul no less intrepid. But the dourness of her resolutions is gone. The years have softened her and given her understanding; she has a sort of fatalism but a fatalism tempered by tolerance and love; her present resignation has hope and humor and wisdom. And not only is Miss Wycherly's individual performance ripe and beautiful. Like all good art, it is disinterested. She is the center of the play, but she never permits herself to dominate it. Her emphasis is not upon herself but upon the exact part which the dramatist's vision has assigned her. Such harmony and intellectual honesty is even more important in this Bramhall group than the well-known gifts of all or any of its single members.

But we cannot always be grave nor always sustain the mood which finds the heart of joy in the gravity of the tragic drama. There must be interludes. These, however, should have some quality of wit or grace or true visible beauty, and, since these qualities are rare among our lighter entertainments, it is but just to call attention to "Lady Billy" (Liberty Theater) and especially to "Sally" (New Amsterdam Theater). The distinction of "Lady Billy" centers wholly in the diminutive actress who calls herself Mitzi. She has a silvery, bell-like little singing voice that mocks delicately at the perfection of its own production and use; she has incredible lightness of movement which she also treats with a touch of self-mockery; she is aware of the slight ache of morbidness in her impersonation of a boy. Miss Marilynn Miller, the new-burnished Ziegfeld star, has less personality and intelligence. Her extreme prettiness is still a little icy, unmelted from within. But she dances like an elf, like a petal in the winds of spring. She dances the triumph of her youth and of all youth. Second only to her is Miss Mary Hay—softer, darker, more roguish. But "Sally" is especially notable for the superb ballet that opens the final act. For this ballet, "The Land of the Butterflies," Mr. Joseph Urban has designed a conventionalized dream-forest of delicate shades and shapes, and Pascaud of Paris has painted and executed the winged costumes. These are, on a great scale, copies or imitations of the gorgeous butterflies of the tropics and thus possess a radiance and a harmony of color that human invention cannot rival. The massive green of ominous forests is in them, the scarlet and yellow of fierce blooms, the hot blue of a tropic sky. The butterflies fold the glory of their wings and little, white-clad ballet dancers group themselves about Miss Miller in a dance that wants only the music of Mozart or of Schubert's Viennese Waltzes to make it wholly perfect. Let Mr. Ziegfeld but drop "books" and "lyrics" and give us such ballets and he will be not the least of our benefactors.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Music

Radicalism in Music

THE somewhat lengthy Beethoven celebration just ended has had, in spite of its withering dulness, at least one salutary effect. It has served to remind us that this musical Titan, too, had to struggle, not only against his own deafness, but against the still greater deafness of eighteenth-century "conservatism." Apparently then, as now, the musical mind was well plastered with traditions; while those who cherished them probably did so with the same dreary "reverence" and for the same misguided purpose that clogs our progress today. Acting as a sort of self-elected watch-dogs of the past, these conservatives never seem to consider that the traditions they guard so jealously had their origin in the spontaneous expression of some great talent or genius, who probably broke all the canons of his predecessors in the process; or that these same traditions, when reduced to bloodless formulas, resolve into abstract and meaningless rules, waiting their turn to be ignored by some other boldly creative spirit. And so the living composers continue to be sacrificed to the dead, and the Wagners and Debussys, the Scriabines and Strawinskys, who embody, in their art, all the distinctive elements of their respective ages, continue to be "futurists" to the bulk of their contemporaries. Just why a twentieth-century composer should write in the idiom of some master of two hundred years ago, or why our musical education should stop with Wagner, our conservative friends do not tell us. We must therefore conclude that in their zeal to preserve the classics as a cultural background they have forgotten that these classics may also be used as a point of departure.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fortunately for progress, the war gave too great an impetus to modern music for virtuosos to ignore it. The only stumbling block lies in their inability to present it truthfully. For instance, Ernest Bloch's superb Viola Suite was first given at a Berkshire Festival. There, under the sympathetic fingers of Louis Bailly and Harold Bauer, its savage rhythms and somber intensity roused the audience to a frenzy of enthusiasm. It has since been presented twice in New York by other combinations of artists, and both times it has fallen flat, on account of one or other of the performers. The first time, it became a series of unrelated notes in the viola part, which Mr. Ferir seemed to be reading at sight; the second, a series of unrelated orchestral noises under the uncomprehending baton of Mr. Bodanzky. Again, the new Strawinsky Concertina, dedicated to the Flonzaleys, fared pretty badly at their hands. A work full of shifting color and nuance, they played it in a monotone, turning it into a senseless, unbearable mass of sound. After all, the London String Quartet has taught us what heights of shimmering beauty the moderns can reach in string ensemble, and Leopold Stokowski has revealed to us their fluidity in the orchestra. Yet even with this as a basis of comparison, not one voice was raised in protest over the massacre.

This is not particularly surprising, as there is almost no one to whom we can look for guidance. The New York critics, for the most part, seem bent upon crushing to atoms the slightest evidence of heretical cacophany. So general and indiscriminating are their ridicule and invectives that one is compelled to believe, at times, that back of such sweeping denunciation lie much ignorance and malice. This was forced upon our notice a few years ago by the "dean of American critics," who adorns the New York *Tribune* with his erudition. The sworn foe of all "futuristic" music and musicians, he had denounced, in no uncertain terms, the first recital of the Russian composer-pianist, Sergei Prokofieff. When Prokofieff dared to make a second appearance, this time with orchestra, the "dean" was evidently determined to "get" his victim at all hazards. Noticing on the program a certain Witches' Orgy, he lambasted Prokofieff for it unmercifully in vile and prurient terms. As it happened, the work was by another Russian, Vassilenko, and bore not the slightest resemblance, either in idiom or style, to Prokofieff—as any trained musician could hear. But the "dean," who had "overlooked the name in the dim light of the concert hall," apparently needed his eyes to assist his ears. The incident is only worth recording as an instance of the kind of unscrupulous attack we are asked to accept as enlightened criticism. Happily, a strong creative urge is not likely to capitulate to such bludgeoning; but there is always the fear that some young and tender talent will succumb to its blows—like Leo Ornstein, for example, who has been so often blackjacked by this same critic and his satellites. In the meantime we can only hope that the day will come when our musical mentors will learn that time is even more efficient than they themselves in guarding the sacred fires of the past; that their chief duty is to interpret the message of the present; and that, when it comes about that their ears have grown insensible and they can no longer understand, their usefulness is ended. When this happens, perhaps we shall not be treated to such criticisms as the following (by the dean's assistant), which appeared in the *Tribune*: "As this noble music [Beethoven's] of unfathomed depths filled the hall, it invited pitying reflections upon the strivings and strainings of the ultra-modernists, frenzied in pursuit of novelty and self-expression, so few of whom have individuality worthy to be expressed." It was a smile of contempt worthy of Miss Squeers, and as we pondered upon the "Tildys" at whom it was directed, we could not but regret that Beethoven had to miss it—Beethoven, the ultra-modernist of his own age, who was himself forced to take refuge in posterity, and to exclaim, what so many since have had to echo: "A second and third generation will doubly recompense me for the monstrous things I have experienced at the hands of my contemporaries."

HENRIETTA STRAUS

The Nation's Poetry Prize

THE NATION offers a Poetry Prize of $100 for the best poem submitted by an American poet in a contest to be conducted by *The Nation* between Thanksgiving and New Year's Day. The rules for the contest are as follows:

1. Each manuscript submitted in the contest must reach the office of *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, not earlier than Friday, November 26, and not later than Saturday, January 1, plainly marked, on the outside of the envelope, "For *The Nation's* Poetry Prize."

2. Manuscripts must be typewritten and must have the name of the author in full on each page of the manuscript submitted.

3. As no manuscript submitted in this contest will under any circumstances be returned to the author, it is unnecessary to inclose return postage. An acknowledgment of the receipt of each manuscript, however, will be sent from this office.

4. No more than three poems from the same author will be admitted to the contest.

5. No restriction is placed upon the subject or form of poems submitted, which may be in any meter or in free verse. It will be impossible, however, to consider poems which are more than 200 lines in length, or which are translations, or which are in any language other than English. Poems arranged in a definite sequence may, if the author so desires, be counted as a single poem.

6. The winning poem will be published in the Midwinter Literary Supplement of *The Nation*, to appear February 9, 1921.

7. Besides the winning poem, *The Nation* reserves the right to purchase any other poem submitted in the contest at its usual rates.

The judges of the contest are William Rose Benét, Ludwig Lewisohn, and Carl Van Doren. Poems, however, should in no case be sent to them personally.

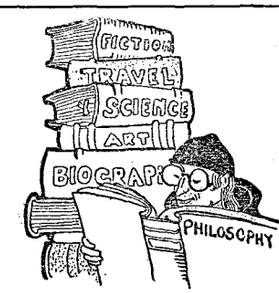
NOTE—The first paper of The Contemporary American Novelists series, which was announced to appear in this issue of *The Nation*, has unavoidably been postponed. It will appear in the issue for January 10. Discussions of the following writers will be published in the months stated below:

January	Edith Wharton
February	Booth Tarkington
March	Theodore Dreiser
April	Winston Churchill
May	Joseph Hergesheimer
June	James Branch Cabell

STEINWAY The Instrument of the Immortals

R. H. Macy & Co.
Herald Square Inc. New York

Maintains the largest and most complete Book Department in New York City.



Copyright, 1920, R. H. Macy & Co., Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

The Rumanian General Strike

ON October 10 a memorandum was presented to the Rumanian Government by representatives of the Socialist Party stating that unless certain economic demands were granted a general strike would be called for October 20. The text of the memorandum was suppressed but the Government's reply, printed in *Universal* (Bucharest) for October 18, indicates the seriousness with which the threat was viewed.

The earnestness of the memorandum may be gauged by the assertion that a reign of terror has been inaugurated by acts of the Government. The Government deems itself in duty bound to consider the welfare of the working class. Its good intentions, however, cannot exceed the bounds of possibility. As the general situation improves, everything possible will be done so that workers may be benefited to the largest possible extent by the betterments. For this the Government need not be goaded by ill-timed demands or anarchistic threats. These latter it will not take into consideration, and every hostile act will call for measures dictated by the necessity of public order.

The Workers' Second Memorandum

A new memorandum to the Government, on October 28, reviewing the results of the Government's policy of repression, was printed in *Renasterea Romana* (Sibiu) for November 4.

The General Council of Syndicates and the Socialist Party, in declaring the general strike, only executed a decision supported by the repeated demands of organized labor.

No one had any intention of lending to this peaceful and lawful manifestation any character other than that which it maintained of an economic strike.

The dalliance of various administrations in meeting the economic demands recognized in the acts of conciliation with the railway workers, miners, and printers of *Monitorul Oficial* [the official Government publication]; the failure to fulfil the promises made to the machinists; the abolition of the autonomy of mutual aid organizations; and the curtailment of individual rights of assembly and freedom of the press in Transylvania, the Banat, Bessarabia, and Bukowina, have exasperated the working class.

The repressive measures now being taken by the Government as shown by the suppression of *Socialismul* [the organ of the Socialist Party], the closing of meeting-places, the arrest of deputies, of the committees and delegates taking part in the movement, instead of soothing this state of exasperation, intensify it and constitute a blow universally interpreted as heralding the dissolution of the syndicates and of the Socialist Party. These organs of the proletariat movement have a constitutional mode of existence and establish the point of contact between the movement and the state authorities; it has been possible through them to bring complaints and memoranda to the Government, to carry on negotiations, and to present openly and officially the grievances of the entire working class.

To overthrow its organization means to force the workers whose discontent springs from economic distress, relieved neither before nor during the strike, into isolated and underground activities—into secrecy. Production will not be increased and the awakening of the workers from the prostrate condition into which they have been thrown by the ever pressing exigencies of a precarious life will not be aided by oppressive measures involving the loss of liberties hitherto enjoyed. Crushed morally, shackled in their legitimate aspirations, the workers will reenter works, factories, and shops with hostile thoughts that will intensify the bitterness now existing. Isolated, deprived of its counsellors, the proletariat will fall a prey to individual acts, which we have striven to avoid through the organizations we are representing.

Should the Government fail to reconsider the measures taken, none of us will assume any further responsibility; moreover, no one will be in a position to intervene in time to stop the strike still persisting.

With a view to the immediate resumption of work, we ask the Government:

1. To bring about the immediate release of all the leaders and working men arrested during the strike throughout the country.
2. To order the reopening of all meeting-places and the republishing of *Socialismul*.
3. To bring about the economic improvements guaranteed in the signed acts of conciliation.

On the basis of these points, we request that the Government designate a mediator with whom we may enter into negotiations for the purpose of settling the strike and resuming work everywhere.

In the name of the Socialist Party and the General Commission of the Syndicates.

M. Balineanu

The Premier's Reply

The Premier's reply to the contentions of the labor men was printed in the same issue of *Renasterea Romana*.

The demonstration was not lawful, inasmuch as such demonstrations are prohibited by the laws in force.

The demonstration was not peaceful, inasmuch as its consequence, if it had followed the course sought by those who instigated it, would have been the starving out of those parts of the country dependent for their food solely on transportation, and starving out the population is one of the weapons employed whenever possible in conjunction with military operations.

Moreover, this memorandum, like those which preceded it, starts out with inexact premises. The memorandum contains a veiled threat, when it is intimated that should the Government persist in its determination, the danger of violent assaults must be contemplated. Neither overt, violent attacks, nor cowardly threats will ever induce the Government to swerve from its duty of maintaining order by all lawful means, when the country is troubled and illegally threatened.

The Government does not propose to go beyond this aim. Hence to the proposals in the memorandum may be given the following reply:

1. The strike ceased by itself. The intervention of the leaders who instigated it is a mere matter of form against which the Government has no objection.
2. In principle the Government intends to detain and prosecute only those who violated the laws. The judicial inquiry will discriminate between those who merely carried out the plans of others, and those who contributed to the elaboration of these plans, inciting the workers by subversive utterances to perform acts punishable by law. The first will be freed; the others will have to await the decision of the courts.
3. *Socialismul* will be allowed to appear, subject to censorship.
4. Meeting-places will be opened as soon as order is everywhere established.
5. With a view to economic improvement and the examination of previous agreements there will be instituted a commission comprising the following members:

One delegate of the President of the Cabinet (Under-secretaryship of Reconstruction and Supplies);
One delegate of the Ministry of Labor;
One delegate of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce;
One delegate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One delegate of the Ministry of Ways of Communication;
One delegate of the Ministry of Finance;
Two labor delegates.

The Commission will be presided over by a superior magistrate delegated by the Ministry of Justice.

GENERAL AVERESCU, President of the Council.

THE STRIKE MANIFESTO

Two days before the date set for the general strike the railway workers walked out, and on October 20—October 21 in Transylvania—the strike was called. Although the result was not a complete tie-up, except in Bukowina, the strike extended to various government enterprises including the military workshops which the authorities subsequently closed down for a period of three months. The signers of the strike manifesto were arrested, tried by courts martial proceedings, and many of them sentenced to five years forced labor. At the trial the Socialists called as witnesses several ministers including Premier Averescu and M. Take Jonescu and it was charged that M. Jonescu had during the Vaitoianu ministry agreed with the Socialist leader, Ilie Moscovici, that a general strike should be called at that time to overthrow the Government. Various officials of the Ministry of Labor testified that promises made to the workers had not been kept by the present Government. The leader of the Opposition in the Rumanian Parliament, M. Iorga, afterwards declared that the sentences imposed on the leaders of the strike were unjust and promised a revision when his party should come into power. Since the strike, however, martial law has been proclaimed in Bucharest—following the explosion of a bomb in the Senate Chamber—and the failure of the strike and the repressive measures of the Government have increased rather than decreased general unrest.

The strike manifesto which resulted in the arrest of the leaders, follows:

The decision of the General Council of the Socialist Party and the syndicate organizations throughout the country to declare a general strike in case the Government will not heed the workers' demands, has been interpreted as an act of political rebellion by the press of the political parties interested in arbitrary and illegal procedure. Moreover, the oligarchy is insinuating that the general strike is especially directed against citizens of all categories.

In view of these malicious interpretations aiming to mislead public opinion in the country, the General Committee of Rumanian Syndicates wishes to make the necessary explanations and define exactly the nature of the general strike which is about to be declared.

Through this act, which is due only to the indifference and arbitrariness of the governing officials, the working class of Rumania aims merely at upholding the law. The Government has not deigned to answer our countless appeals and protests. Workers throughout Rumania and especially in the annexed territories are subjected to the most inhuman abuses; neither their persons nor their liberties are secure.

Evictions and breaking into homes never cease in Transylvania and the Banat. Workers who are earning an honest livelihood in localities where they have been established for years are exiled or sent to other localities where their work is not in demand. Any military commander, no matter how insignificant, is in his own locality the final authority, responsible to no one but himself. The interference of the military in the civil administration of the new provinces has brought the people to the verge of despair, while the Government, in spite of all our solicitations, tolerates and encourages despotism. This is one of the causes of the general strike.

The state of siege and the censorship serve in the new provinces as means of terrorizing citizens, especially workingmen, and are being maintained even in the old kingdom. The summary and illegal acts of the courts-martial, the numerous persons daily victimized in spite of our laws and constitutional principles cannot leave us indifferent. We are convinced that in striving for the return to normal political life we have the support of public opinion, and in the general strike to be declared by us honest men will regard us sympathetically.

We are not asking increases in salary, nor the shortening of the working day. We do ask, however, that the promises made for so many months be fulfilled. It is not selfish, economic interests that prompted us to enter the great struggle which is the general strike, but an aim of a superior and general nature: the sincere application of the laws of the country for everybody. The struggle is not for our sake but for everybody and in the interests of all.

Instead of returning to legality, the Government has enacted laws which deny the workingman the right to labor and attempt to curtail his right of organization. We are referring to the law for settling labor disputes, through which the right of employers to dispose of workers and their labor as they see fit is sanctioned, and the rights won through many sacrifices by the workers are abolished. In the face of this law which abolishes outright the right to strike, the only dignified attitude left for us is the general strike. With the military in factories, under the terror of bayonets and machine guns, the laborer cannot work. The army must withdraw to the armories; its mission is other than to intimidate, terrorize, and torture workingmen.

What was the answer of the Government to the order given by the commander of eastern troops, advising them not to fire for the purpose of intimidation, but to kill directly and ruthlessly? The commander escaped without even a rebuke; the Government gives its high sanction to this system which reminds us of the reign of terror of 1907. And if these assaults are taking place in the old kingdom, anyone can imagine what is happening in the annexed territories, where the military commanders are omnipotent. In order to prevent the repetition of such horrors, the working class is obliged to resort to the general strike. It is fighting for the common good, for internal order.

The working class wishes to direct public attention to the plundering of its wealth in state institutions. The Central Labor Fund (*Cassa Centrală a Meseriilor*) gathers millions from the modest salaries of workers for the purpose of insuring them against illness, invalidity, and old age. These funds, however, serve only to maintain an army of officials; the workers never receive the aid they need. Of late, in the old kingdom, in defiance of the workers' patience, their dues have been increased 200 per cent, in view of certain aids for which they are waiting in vain, while in Transylvania and the Banat, where the sick funds had been administered by the workers, who bear all the burdens, the Government has now placed them under state administration, that through these useful institutions it may serve the interests of its political clientele. Is the workingman right in refusing to pay the dues? Assuredly. And this decision the working class will respect, no matter what may happen.

These are the causes and the real nature of the general strike. Far from being a gesture of hostility against the country's inhabitants, as the press of interested politicians would represent it, the general strike of the Rumanian workers is the heroic act of citizens who desire nothing but internal tranquillity through the sovereignty of the law.

We are aware that the public will have to suffer as a result of the strike. But we, the workers, will have to bear the same sufferings. And if they are necessary for remedying our ills, should we not make this sacrifice? Let us rise above our momentary interests, and looking confidently into the future, assure the general strike the success so necessary for the welfare and the normal political development of the country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Our determination to put a stop to the illegal acts of the Government, culminating in the decision to declare the general strike, has aroused, as was to be expected, the anxiety of the dominant class, and has drawn upon the workers a new avalanche of calumny.

We once more repeat the desiderata of the masses, so that the legitimacy of our action may be seen. These are our demands:

1. Respect for the right of assemblage and the recognition of labor delegates and councils in all enterprises.

2. Withdrawal of troops from all factories, works, and shops.

3. The abolition of any interference by the directors of state enterprises in matters of workers' organization, and the reinstatement of all workers discharged or suspended.

4. The meeting of the demands formulated by workers in state industries, in places where the arbitration commission functioned (the railways and the printing plant of *Monitorul Oficial*), as well as in those where such commissions have not been instituted.

5. Suspension of the application of the law for regulating labor disputes, until the formation of a new law which will respect the rights won through great sacrifices by the workers.

6. The effective and complete abolition of the state of siege and censorship through:

(a) the recognition of the unabridged rights of assemblage and organization, and the freedom of the press;

(b) the abolition of courts-martial and the transference to civil courts of all lawsuits involving civilians, political misdemeanors, and the press;

(c) the withdrawal of the army from the civil administration of annexed territories;

(d) the cessation of the system of expulsion and forced evacuations.

7. Regranting of autonomy to the regional funds of Transylvania and the Banat, and the modification of the insurance laws of the old kingdom on the basis of the principle of autonomy, in consultation with the working class through its authorized representatives.

Organized labor throughout the country will be called upon through a general strike to obtain all these rights and liberties with which its most vital interests are bound up.

THE LOCAL COMMISSION OF BUCHAREST SYNDICATES

French Labor and the Ruhr

THE following is the text of the official report issued by the National Committee of the French General Federation of Labor, after hearing the report of their delegates who had visited the German miners in the Ruhr Valley.

The French members of the delegation of the International Trade Union Federation who visited the Ruhr Valley, continued their journey in order to have an interview at Berlin with the Executive Commission of the General Federation of German Trade Unions.

The Secretary of the General Federation of Labor, Jouhaux, and the Secretary of the French Federation of Metal Workers, Merrheim, accompanied by the Secretary of the International Federation of Syndicates, Fimmen, were to meet the directors of the German organizations for the reconstruction of the devastated regions in France to consider the problems this question presents to the workers of both countries.

Two conferences took place on November 5 (Friday), at which the representatives of the central unions adhering to the German syndicates and representatives of the Federation of Technical Employees, who are interested in this question, assisted. Exchanges of opinions were made, as much in connection with the negotiations which have already taken place on this subject and which the French Government did not pursue as on the present situation. They permitted the workers' representatives of both countries to state their views.

The German representatives expressed again the wish and willingness of the German working class to participate in the work of reconstruction under certain guaranties, which the representatives of the French workers had recognized as just by declaring that the workers of France were wholly disposed to accept their help.

German and French workers consider, on the other hand, that the work of reconstruction should be carried out to the exclusive profit of the community, the one thought being the general interest, and to the exclusion of capitalist profits. The two representatives stated that the reconstruction of the devastated regions and the uplifting of Germany as well as the restoration of the ruins caused by the war in Europe, can only be attained by the collaboration and willing work of the proletariats interested.

It is with the hope of this international cooperation that they have decided to take, in accord with the International Federation, the necessary action for putting these ideas into effect. The two central organizations and more particularly the unions of the industries directly interested, will get into touch with one another in order to establish a general plan and to arrange the details of this scheme for the common good, which will be ultimately put into effect, in the firm belief that this common work should help to combat all reaction and all imperialism, banish the hate of the past, realize the union of the proletariats, and prepare for the reconstruction of Europe on the question of labor.

In conclusion, the following order of the day was adopted by the Committee of the Federation:

The National Committee of the Federation, having posted themselves on the reports made in the Ruhr Valley by the delegation of the International Federation, wish to make a strong protest against the threatened military occupation of this region, which, if put into execution, will inevitably bring about a catastrophe;

The Committee declares that no reason can be put forward which would justify such an action, that the workmen of the Ruhr district are using all their efforts in order to permit the putting into effect of the Spa convention relative to coal, that the supplies called for have been delivered, that the campaign waged in France by reactionary newspapers coincides with that of capitalist Germany which is hoping, by the help of Allied bayonets, to find the means of checking the socialization of the mines;

The Committee of the Federation proclaims that it is the absolute duty of the working class to protest against this eventuality, and to put it to the vote while pointing out to the working class the inevitable danger of such action.

The Committee recognizes, on the other hand, that the production of coal in the Ruhr district is dependent upon an improvement in the food allowance to the workers which would permit the miners to recuperate their strength, and it demands that the Entente should respect the engagements which it has entered into in this respect.

In view of the unhappy situation of the working class as reported by the delegates of the Internationale, the misery which exists in this region and which is condemning children and young people to sickness and death and endangering the new generation, the Committee demands the organization of a system of food supply which will fulfil the requirements of the engagements entered into, and declares that the workers, no matter to what country they belong, have the right to live by their efforts without being forced to apply to charity.

Protesting vigorously against every policy of violence and force, and against all schemes threatening the liberty of the workers of the Ruhr for the profit of international capitalism and military greed, the National Committee of the Federation sends an expression of its solidarity to its comrades in this region and declares that the free and voluntary cooperation of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the workers of the two countries, as well as of all the workers belonging to the Trade Union Internationale, is necessary in order to reconstruct the devastated regions of France, to re-establish economic activity, to repair the ravages caused by the war in all European countries, and to obtain ultimately the international reorganization demanded by the workers, and the permanent fraternity of the united peoples in an effort of production and peace.

The International Labor Report

THE International Congress of Trade Unions held at London, England, at its closing session on November 27, 1920, unanimously adopted the following resolution, which was presented by Leon Jouhaux of France. The text is translated from the *Berliner Tageblatt* of November 29, 1920, and *L'Information Ouvrière et Sociale* (Paris) of December 9, 1920.

After hearing the report of the Commission of Investigation sent to the Ruhr by the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Extraordinary International Trade Union Congress meeting at London, November 20 to 29, 1920, energetically protests against the threatened occupation of that district by Entente troops.

The Congress declares that such a measure would be an unjustifiable act of aggression, doing violence to the international agreement, violence to freedom, and to the efforts of the workers to socialize the treasures of the earth, and an attack by international capitalism upon the workers' movement.

In the conviction that occupation of the Ruhr would have disastrous consequences and would benefit reaction and militarism, that it would add new dangers to those already menacing the world and constitute an insuperable barrier to the resumption of normal relations between the peoples, the Congress declares that the organized workers are ready to oppose such a measure by all means, and to prevent subjection of the workers of the Ruhr to a military yoke.

The Congress declares that the coal question cannot be solved by military measures of violence, but only by an international organization of the production and distribution of all fuel materials as the International Miners' Congress demanded at Geneva.

The Congress emphasizes the fact that production in the Ruhr is undeniably dependent upon a good provisioning of the miners.

Considering that the miners have completely fulfilled the obligations agreed upon at Spa, the Congress asks that the reciprocal promises made to the miners be fulfilled. It calls attention to the serious condition of the working people of the Ruhr, to the misery which threatens children with death, and asks that steps be taken to end this deplorable situation.

The Congress finally declares that the reconstruction of the ruins left by the war can be accomplished only by the united effort of free workers filled with the same will for peace and liberty.

Any change of address

should be mailed to our Subscription Department at least two weeks before it is to become effective. This will insure uninterrupted delivery of *The Nation* to you, and will materially lessen the pressure of work in our office.

When notifying us be sure to give both old and new addresses and stipulate the exact date upon which you desire the change made.

SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT

20 Vesey Street **The Nation** New York, N. Y.

ANDRE TRIDON Author of "Psychoanalysis and Behavior," etc., now lecturing in New York City to large enthusiastic audiences on various phases of Psychoanalysis, is open for a few out-of-town dates. For subjects, terms, etc., write to THE FINE ARTS GUILD, 27 W. 8th St., New York City.

N. B.—H. L. Mencken says "Tridon writes simply and clearly; he gives admirably lucid explanations of Freud, etc." See January issue Smart Set.

Communism and Christianism: Analyzed and Contrasted from the Viewpoint of Darwinism. By Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D.D. Paper, pages 184, ornamental cover, one copy 25c. SPECIAL TERMS TO PERSONS DESIRING COPIES FOR USE AS PROPAGANDIST LITERATURE. SIX COPIES, $1.00.

Ten characteristic comments: ¶One of the most startling and revolutionary books ever issued, considering the source. ¶It comes like a meteor across a dark sky. ¶It held me tight. I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalism from the earth. ¶Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason. ¶It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history. ¶This is a lucid, penetrating and, at times, startling book. I think it is one of the most important books of a Socialist nature issued in a number of years. It is full of marvelously good material and will open many eyes. The book deserves to get a million circulation. ¶Every comrade buys one and comes back for more. ¶Sold twenty-five in a jiffy; send three hundred for next meeting. ¶I can sell three thousand within sixty days. ¶In this book the author approaches the subject of Socialism from a new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all.

Please send coin or bill, not stamps. Write for terms to book sellers and to Socialist Locals. Half of a ten thousand edition gone in two months.

THE BRADFORD-BROWN EDUCATIONAL CO., INC.
BROWNELLA BOOK SHOP, GALION, OHIO

The Nation

wants subscription agents in all parts of the country. If you are interested, communicate at once with its

Circulation Manager

20 Vesey Street New York

Read the Remarkable
DEBATE ON BIRTH CONTROL
MARGARET SANGER vs. WINTER RUSSELL
Held in New York City on December 12, 1920
By mail, 30c, from THE FINE ARTS GUILD, 27 W. 8th St., New York City

Pearson's and a Free Press

The great need today, expressed and unexpressed, is a free press. Everyone is crying for the truth about things; straightforward reports of the news of the world; authoritative opinions on the problems of the times. Instead we are getting a bought press, full of lies or, at the best, propaganda and perverted truths. The policies of our newspapers and our magazines are directed by their financial backers. From news to editorials, how much or how little shall be said is determined by the interests of the few in control. This must not go on.

The press must be liberated.

There is but one way to have and maintain a free press: *its only master must be the public—YOU.* It must serve no other.

Pearson's is taking the lead in the fight for a free press by writing for its readers rather than for a capitalist or a trust. But this necessitates that it also rely on its readers for support.

Are you going to justify its faith in you and join its growing army of financial backers? Are you willing to accept the responsibilities as well as the benefits of a Free Press?

Two Dollars will do it—Two Dollars for a year's subscription.

Mail it to us this very day.

PEARSON'S MAGAZINE, Inc.

57 Fifth Avenue **New York City**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED